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SACRED LATIN POETRY,

CHIEFLY LYRICAL,

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WITH

NOTES AND INTRODUCTION:

BY

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VICAR OF ITCHENSTOKE, HANTS, AND  
LATE HULSEAN LECTURER.

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE aim of the present volume is to offer to members of our English Church a collection of the best sacred Latin poetry, such as they shall be able entirely and heartily to sympathize with and approve—a collection, that is, in which they shall not be evermore liable to be offended, and to have the current of their sympathies checked, by coming upon that, which, however beautiful as poetry, in higher respects they must reject and condemn—in which, too, they shall not fear that snares are being laid for them, to entangle them unawares in admiration for ought which is inconsistent with their faith and fealty to their own spiritual mother. Such being the idea of the volume, it is needless to say that all hymns which in any way imply the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation are excluded. In like manner all are excluded, which involve any creature-worship, or which speak of the Mother of our Lord in any other language than that which Scripture has sanctioned, and our Church adopted. So too all asking of the

suffrages of the saints, all addresses to the cross calculated to encourage superstition, that is, in which any value is attributed to the material wood, in which it is used otherwise than it is in the Epistles of St Paul, namely, as a figure of speech by which we ever and only understand Him that hung upon it; all these have been equally refused a place.

Nor is it only poems containing positive error which I have counted inadmissible; but, so far as I could judge, I have given no room to any which breathe a spirit foreign to that tone of piety which the English Church desires to cherish in her children; for I have always felt that compositions of this character may be far more hurtful, may do far more to rob her of the affections, and ultimately of the allegiance, of her children, than those in which error and opposition to her teaching take a more definite and tangible shape. Nor surely can there be a greater mistake, than to suppose that we have really "adapted" such works to the use of our Church, when we have lopped off here and there a few offensive excrescences, while that far more potent, because far subtler and more impalpable, element of a life which is not her life remains interfused through the whole.

Having thus in a manner become responsible for all which appears in this volume, I may be per-

mitted to observe, that I do not thereby imply that every single phrase of every poem which it contains exactly meets my desire—that there is not, here and there, that which one would willingly have had otherwise expressed. Two or three phrases also there may be,—yet not, I believe, more,—which in their doctrinal aspects will claim of the reader the interpretation of charity, and that he remember how unfair it is to try the theological language of the middle ages by the greater strictness and accuracy of a happier theology. Thus, for us at this day to talk of any “merits” save those of Christ, after all that the Reformation has won for us, would involve a conscious and a deliberate falling away from a sole and exclusive reliance upon his work. But it was a different thing then, and the word might quite be used by one who had *implicitly* an entire affiance on the work of Christ *for* him as the ultimate ground of his hope; and who only waited to have the truth, which with some confusion he held and lived by, put before him in accurate form, to embrace it henceforth and for ever, not only with heart, as he had done already, but with the understanding as well.

Nor yet do I mean to affirm that there may not have found admission here one or two poems which some, whom I should greatly have desired altogether to have carried with me in my selec-

tion, may not wish had been away. It is indeed one of the mischiefs which Rome has entailed upon the whole Western Church, even upon those portions of it which have now escaped her tyranny, that she has rendered suspicious so much, which, but for her, none could have thought otherwise than profitable and edifying. She has compelled those, who above all things would be true to God's word, oftentimes to act in the spirit of Hezekiah, when he said "Nehushtan" to the very "sign of salvation"<sup>1</sup>—to the brazen serpent itself. Yet granting that the superstitious, and therefore profane, hands which she has laid on so much, must oftentimes make it our wisdom, and indeed our duty, that we abridge ourselves of our rightful liberty in many things, which otherwise and but for her we might have freely and profitably used, there is still a limit to these self-denials: and unless we are determined to set such a limit, there is no point of bareness and nakedness in all of imaginative and symbolic in worship and service, which we might not reach; even as some Reformed Churches, which have not shewn that mingled moderation and firmness, that have in these matters so wonderfully characterized our own, have undoubtedly made themselves much poorer than was need.

<sup>1</sup> Σύμβολον σωτηρίας. Wisd. xvi.

Of course, those who consider that the whole middle age theology is to be ignored and placed under ban—that nothing is to be learned from it, or nothing but harm—those I must expect to disapprove, not merely of a small matter or two in the volume, but of it altogether; for the very idea of the book rests on the supposition that it *is* worth our while to know what the feelings of these ages were—what the Church was doing during a thousand years of her existence;—on the assumption also, that the voices in which men uttered then the deepest things of their hearts, will be voices in which we may also utter and embody the deepest things of our own. For myself, I cannot but feel that we are untrue to our position as a Church, that is, as an *historic* body, and above all to our position as members of a Protestant Church, when we thus wish to dis sever, as far as we may, the links of our historic connexion with the past. We should better realize that position, if we looked at those middle ages with the expectation, (which the facts would abundantly justify,) of finding the two Churches, which at the Reformation disengaged themselves from one another, in the bosom of the Church which was then—if we looked at those ages, not seeking (as sometimes is done, I cannot but feel most unfairly, in regard to earlier times) to claim them as Protestant, but as little granting

that they were Romanist. It were truer to say that in Romanism we have the residuum of the middle age Church and theology, the lees, after all, or well nigh all, the wine was drained away. But in the medieval Church we have the wine and the lees together—the truth and the error—the false observance, and yet at the same time the divine truth which should one day be fatal to it, side by side. Good were it for us to look at those ages, tracing gladly, as Luther so loved to do, the footsteps of the Reformers before the Reformation; and feeling that it is our duty, that it is the duty of each successive age of the Church, as not to accept the past in the gross, so neither in the gross to reject it; since rather by our position as the present representatives of that eternal body, we are bound to recognise ourselves as the rightful inheritors of all which is good and true that ever has been done or said within it. Nor is this all: but if our position mean anything, we are bound also to believe that to us, having the Word and the Spirit, the power has been given to distinguish things which differ,—that the sharp sword of judgment has been placed in our hands, whereby to sunder between the holy and profane,—that such a breath of the Almighty is now and evermore breathing over his Church, as shall enable it, boldly and with entire trust that he will winnow



for it, to exclaim, "What is the chaff to the wheat?" Surely it is our duty to believe that to us, that to each generation which humbly and earnestly seeks, will be given that enlightening Spirit, by the aid of which it shall be enabled to read aright the past realizations of God's divine idea in the visible and historic Church of successive ages, and to distinguish the human imperfections, blemishes, and errors, from the divine truth which they obscured and overlaid, but which they could not destroy, being one day rather to be destroyed by it; and, distinguishing these, as in part to take warning from and to shun, so also in part to live upon and to love, that which in word and deed the Church of the past has bequeathed us.

In this sense,—namely, that there is here that which we may live on and love, as well as that which we must shun and leave, I have brought together the poems of this present volume, gathering out the tares, which yet I could recognize but as the *accident* of this goodly field, and seeking to present to my brethren that only which I had confidence would prove wholesome nutriment for souls. Undoubtedly there are tares enough in the field out of which these sheaves have been gathered, if a man will seek them, if he should believe that it is his occupation to do so; which yet I have not believed to be mine. And I have published this volume,

because, granting a collection made upon these principles to be desirable, it appears to me that it has not yet been made; that those which we possess still leave room for such a one as the present.

What need is there, for example, that the *Veni, Redemptor Gentium*, or the *Dies Iræ*, or any other of these immortal heritages of the universal Church, should be presented to us as part or parcel of the Roman or any other breviary? They were not written for these; their finding a place in these is their accident and not their essence. Why then should they be offered, as coming through channels and with associations linked to them, which can scarcely fail to make them distasteful to many? Not to say that while pieces of sacred Latin verse drawn from such obvious sources have been published again and again—and not only the good, but very often with it much also of very slightest worth,—other noblest compositions, whether contemplated as works of art, or from a more solemn point of view, have been left unregarded and apparently unknown. If I may conclude, in regard of others, from a few friends to whom I have submitted portions of this volume, as it was gotten together, most of my readers will acknowledge that they here have met something which was new to them, yet with which they were glad to be made acquainted.

And even were this not the case, the poems here offered in a collected form, are many of them only to be found, as a reader familiar with the subject will perfectly know, one here, one there, in costly editions of the Fathers or medieval writers, or in collections of very rarest occurrence. The extreme difficulty I have myself experienced in obtaining several of the books which I desired to use, and the necessity under which I have remained of altogether forgoing the use of many that I would most gladly have consulted, has sufficiently shewn me how little obvious they can be to most readers. Often too the poems one would care to possess, are lost amid a quantity of verse of little or no value; or mixed up with much which, at least for purposes such as those which the present volume is intended to serve, the reader would much rather have away. They are to be met too, for the most part, without those helps for their profitable study which they so greatly require—with no attempt to bring them into relation with the theology of their own or of an earlier day, which at once they illustrate, and from which alone many of their allusions can be explained.

In regard of the notes with which I have sought to supply this last deficiency, I will say at once that had I followed my own inclinations, I should much have preferred to have given merely

the text, without adding any of these. At the same time, the longer I was engaged with these poems, the more I was struck with the extent to which they swarmed with Scriptural and patristic allusions, yet such as oftentimes one might miss at a first or second perusal, or, unless they were pointed out, might overlook altogether. I felt how many passages there were, which, without some such helps, would remain obscure to many readers; or, at any rate, would fail to yield up to them all the riches of meaning which they contained; and that an Editor had no right to presume that particular kind of knowledge upon their parts, which should render occasional explanations superfluous. Thus none, I trust, will take ill the space which I have bestowed on the elucidation of the typical allusions with which many of these poems so much abound, nor think that I have gone at too great a length into the explanation of these. Whatever the absolute worth of the medieval typology may be, its relative worth is considerable, giving us such insight as it does into the habits of men's thoughts in those ages, and the aspect under which they were wont to contemplate the Holy Scriptures and the facts of which Holy Scripture is the record. Without such pains bestowed, some of these poems would have been nearly unintelligible. Nor may we forget, that however the Old Testament typology

is now little better than a wreck, that is, as a branch of scientific theology,—that, however out of the capricious and oftentimes childish abuse which has been made of it, many look now at the whole matter with averseness and distaste, yet has it, as we are sure, a deep ground of truth; which is not affected by the fact that we have been at so little pains accurately to determine its limits, or the laws which are to guide its application, and have thus left it open to such infinite abuse.

And yet, with the fullest sense of the necessity of giving some notes, I will not deny how much of perplexity in one respect those here appended have cost me; nor can I hope that this volume has escaped that which, with only the difference of more or less, must be the lot of all annotated books. Doubtless it has often a note where none was needed, and none where one might justly have been looked for. As in part an excuse for their inadequacy and imperfections, I must plead the very little that had hitherto been done in this regard; so that, although assistances from those who have gone before are not altogether wanting, yet these are only few and insufficient. Had my own notes been exclusively, or even mainly, critical, I should have felt myself bound to compose them in Latin, which has been so happily called “the

algebraic notation of criticism;" but being in the main theological, there would have been much loss with no compensating gain, in putting myself under the restraints of a language in which I certainly should not have moved as easily as in my own. At the same time I have endeavoured to avoid, though perhaps not always successfully, that which I have observed as the common evil of notes in English, namely, the "small talk" into which they are apt to degenerate.

A word or two before I conclude, in regard to the arrangement of the different pieces which this volume contains. Two ways seemed open to me here—either to follow the chronological order, which would have had a most real value of its own; or else to arrange, as I have done, the several poems according to an inner scheme, and thus combine them, as it were, anew into one great poem. To the choice of this last plan I was directed by the idea on which this volume is constructed. Had I desired first and mainly to illustrate the theology of successive epochs by the aid of their hymns, or to trace the rise and growth of Latin ecclesiastical poetry, the other or chronological would have been plainly the method to have adopted; in the same way as, had I presented these poems as *documents*, I should not have felt myself at liberty to make the omissions which I have oc-



casionally made in some, with no loss I believe to the reader, and without which their length, or even a more serious flaw, might have excluded them from the volume. But the personal and the devotional being my primary objects, and all else merely secondary, it was plain that the order to be followed was that which should best assist and further the end I had specially in view.

In regard of that occasional liberty of omission which I have used—by which I mean, not so much presenting the fragments of a poem, as *thinning* it—I would just observe that it is not so great a liberty, nor so perilous an interference with the unity, and so the life, of medieval, as it would be of many other, compositions. *Form* these writers thought of but little; and were little careful to satisfy its requirements. Oftentimes indeed the instincts of Art effectually wrought in them, and what they gave forth is as perfect in form as it is in spirit. But oftentimes also the stanzas, or other component parts of some long poem, jostle, and impair the effect of, one another. It is evident that the writer had not learned the painful duty of sacrificing parts to the interests of the whole; perhaps it had never dawned on him that, in all higher art, there is such a duty, and one needing continually to be exercised. And when this is done for him, which he would not do for himself, the

effect is like that of thinning some crowded and overgrown forest. There is gain in every respect; gain in what is taken away, gain for what remains: so at least it has seemed to me, when on more than one occasion I have used the axe of excision.

Great as is the length to which these prefatory words have run, and much as they have obliged me to speak, which I would willingly have avoided, in the first person, I yet cannot conclude them without giving utterance to this as my earnest prayer,—that there may be nothing found in these pages to minister to error, or with which wise and understanding children of our own spiritual mother might be justly displeased. If I have attained this, I shall abundantly be rewarded for some anxious and laborious hours, which the preparation of this volume has cost me.

ITCHENSTOKE, *Jan.* 1849.

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# INTRODUCTION.

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## CHAPTER I.

THE Latin poetry of the Christian Church presents

### ERRATA.

p. 75, line 17, for *virtutum alæ*, read *virtutum scalæ*.

p. 91, line 17, for *habetatis*, read *hæbetatis*.

p. 108, line 14, for constructed *for*, read constructed *from*.

so merely with externals, as might at first sight appear. For since the form of ought which has any real significance is indeed the manifestation of its innermost life—is the making visible, so far as that is possible, of its most essential spirit—I shall, if I rightly seize and explain the difference of the forms, be implicitly saying something, indeed much, concerning the differences between the spirit of this poetry, and that of the elder or heathen poetry of Rome. A few considerations on this matter may help to remove offences which the reader, nourished exclusively upon classical lore, might easily take at many things which in this volume he

will find; and may otherwise assist to put him in a fairer position for appreciating the compositions which it contains.

When, then, we attempt to trace the rise and growth of the Latin poetry of the Christian Church, and the manner in which, making use, in part and for a season, of what it found ready to its hand, it did yet detach itself more and more from the classical poetry of Rome, we take note of the going forward at the same time of two distinct processes. But these, distinct as they are, we observe also combining for the formation of the new, together giving to it its peculiar character, and constituting it something more than such a continuation of the old classical poetry, as should only differ from it in the subjects which supplied to it its theme, while in all things else it remained unchanged. These processes I have said we may contemplate as entirely distinct from one another, as having no absolutely necessary connexion, closely related as undoubtedly they were—the first, the disintegration of the old prosodical system of Latin verse, under the gradual substitution of accent for quantity—and the second, the employment of rhyme, within, or at the close of, the verse, as a mean for marking rhythm, and as a resource for the producing of melody. They have no absolutely necessary connexion; for there might have been the first without the second—accent without rhyme—as in our own blank verse, and occasional blank lyrics; nor are there wanting various and successful examples, in this very later Latin poetry, of the same

kind. There was the second, rhyme without the displacing of quantity by accent, in the rhymed hexameters, pentameters, and sapphics wherein the monkish poets of the middle ages indulged, still preserving as far as they knew, and often altogether, the laws of metrical quantity, but adding rhyme as a further ornament to the verse.

Thus the results of the two processes, namely, an accented, and a rhymed, poetry, might have existed separately, as indeed occasionally they do; and growing up independently of one another, they ought to be traced independently also. Yet still, since only in the union of the two could results have been produced so satisfying, so perfect in their kind, as those which the Latin sacred poetry offers to us; since they did in fact essentially promote and further one another; the manner in which they mutually re-acted one on the other, in which the one change rendered almost imperative the other, the common spirit out of which both the transformations proceeded, should not be allowed to pass unobserved—should be rather one of the chiefest matters to which he, who would explain and trace the change, should direct his own and his reader's especial attention.

I shall first take occasion to speak of this substitution of accent for quantity, an accented for a prosodic verse; which, however, is a subject that will demand one or two preliminary remarks.

There is one very obvious, and yet very noticeable, difference between the Christian literature of the Greek and Roman world on the one side, and all other and

later Christian literatures on the other—namely, that those Greek and Latin are, so to speak, a new budding and blossoming out of an old stock, which, when the Church was founded, had already put forth, or was in the act of putting forth, all which in the natural order of things, and but for the quickening breath of a new and unexpected life, it could ever have unfolded. They are as a second and a later spring, coming in the rear of the timelier and the first. For that task which the word of the Gospel had to accomplish in all other regions of man's life, it had also to accomplish in this. It was not granted to it at first entirely to make or mould a society of its own. A harder task was assigned it—being, as it was, superinduced on a society which had come into existence, and had gradually assumed the shape which now it wore, under very different conditions, and in obedience to very different influences. Of this it had to make the best which it could; only to reject and to put under ban that which was absolutely incurable therein, and which directly contradicted its own fundamental idea; but of the rest to assimilate to itself what was capable of assimilation; to transmute what was willing to be transmuted; to consecrate what was prepared to receive from it an higher consecration; and altogether to adjust, not always with perfect success, but as best it might, often at the cost of much forbearance and self-sacrifice, its relations to the old, which had grown up under heathen auspices, and was therefore very different from what it would have been, had the leaven of the word of Life mingled



with and wrought in it from the first, instead of coming in, a later addition to it now, at the end of time.

Thus was it in almost every sphere of man's life and of his moral and intellectual activity ; yet we have here to speak only of one—namely, that of literature and language. All the modern literatures and languages of Europe Christianity has mainly made what they are ; to it they owe all that characterizes them the most strongly. For although, as it needs not to say, the languages themselves reach back in their elemental rudiments to a time far anterior to the earliest in which the Gospel came, or could have come, in contact with them, or indeed had been proclaimed at all ; yet it did thus mingle with them early enough to find them still in that wondrous and mysterious process of their first evolution. They were yet plastic and fluent, as all languages are at a certain period of their existence, though a period generally just out of the ken of the history. And the languages rose to a level with the claims which the new religion of the Spirit made upon them. Formed and fashioned under its influence, they dilated till they were equal to its needs, and adequate exponents, as far as language ever can become so, of the deepest things which it possessed.

But it was otherwise in regard of the Latin language. That, when the Church arose, requiring of it to be the organ of her Divine Word, to tell out all the new, and as yet undreamt of, which was stirring in her bosom ; demanding of it that it should reach her needs, needs which had hardly or not at all existed, while the lan-

guage was in process of formation—that was already full formed, had reached its climacteric, and was indeed verging, though as yet imperceptibly, toward decay, with all the stiffness of commencing age already upon it. Such the Church found it—something to which a new life might perhaps be imparted, but the first life of which was well nigh overlived. She found it a garment narrower than she could wrap herself withal, and yet the only one within reach. But she did not forego the expectation of one day obtaining all which she wanted, nor yet even for the present did she sit down contented with the inadequate and insufficient. Herself young and having the spirit of life, she knew that the future was her own—that she was set in the world for this very purpose of making all things new—that what she needed and did not find, there must lie in her the power of edueing from herself—that, however not all at once, yet little by little, she could weave whatever vestments were required by her for comeliness and beauty. And we do observe the language under the new influence, as at the breath of a second spring, putting itself forth anew, the meaning of words enlarging and dilating, old words coming to be used in new significations, obsolete words reviving, new words being coined<sup>1</sup>—with much in all this to offend the classical taste, which yet, being inevitable, ought not to offend, and of which the gains far more than compensated the losses. There was a new thing, and that being so, it

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<sup>1</sup> See Funccius, *De Vegetâ Latinæ Linguae Senectute*, p. 1139 seq.

needed that there should be a new utterance as well. To be offended with this is, in truth, to be offended with Christianity, which made this to be inevitable.

We may make application of all which has been here said to the metrical forms of the classical poetry of Rome. These the Church found ready made to her hand, and in their kind having reached a very high perfection. A true instinct must have told her at once, or after a very few trials, that these were not the metrical forms which she required ; yet it was not to be supposed that she should have the courage immediately to cast them aside, and to begin the world, as it were, afresh—or should have been enabled at once to foresee the more adequate forms which she should one day develop out of her own bosom. But these which she thus inherited, while she was content of necessity to use, yet could not satisfy her<sup>1</sup>. The Gospel had

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<sup>1</sup> Dans le monde grec d'abord, puis, dans le monde romain, les chrétiens éprouvèrent le besoin de se servir des formes de la poésie antique et de les appliquer aux idées nouvelles. Les IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles virent naître un assez grand nombre d'efforts en ce genre, surtout en Italie et en Espagne. Evidemment, ces tentatives souvent renouvelées étaient sans portée, sans avenir ; les sentiments chrétiens les traditions chrétiennes ne pouvaient s'accommoder des formes créées pour un autre emploi, vieilles au service d'une autre Muse ; évidemment, la littérature chrétienne devait produire sa propre forme, et c'est ce qu'elle a fait plus tard. Ce n'est pas quand elle a cherché à traduire ses inspirations dans le langage de Virgile, qu'elle a enfanté des ouvrages de quelque valeur ; c'est quand elle a inventé son épopée, avec Dante et Milton, et son drame dans les mystères du moyen âge, ou les actes sacramentaux de Calderon, qui ne sont qu'une résurrection et un raffinement des mystères ; c'est quand elle a inspiré ces beaux chants qui, depuis

brought into men's hearts longings after the infinite and the eternal, which were strange to it, at least in their present intensity, until now. Beauty of outline, beauty of form—and what a flood of light does that one word *forma*, as equivalent to beauty, pour on the difference between the heathen and the Christian ideal of beauty!—this was all which the old poetry yearned after and strove to embody; this was all which its metrical frameworks were perfectly fitted for embodying. But now heaven had been opened, and henceforward the mystical element of modern poetry demanded its rights; vaguer but vaster thoughts were craving to find the harmonies to which they might be married for ever. The boundless could not be content to find its organ in that, of which the very perfection lay in its limitations and its bounds. The Christian poets were in holy earnest; a versification therefore could no longer be endured attached with no living bonds to the thoughts, in which sense and sound had no real correspondence with one another. The versification henceforth must have an intellectual value, which should associate it with the

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Luther, n'ont cessé de retentir sous les voûtes des églises d'Allemagne. Alors la poésie chrétienne a fait son œuvre; jusque là elle n'était qu'un calque pâle et un écho affaibli de la poésie païenne. (Ampère, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. 2, p. 196.) And again: Il faut que le chant chrétien dépouille entièrement ces lambeaux de métrique ancienne, qu'il se fasse complètement moderne par la rime comme par le sentiment; alors, on aura *cette prose rimée* empreinte d'une sombre harmonie, qui par la tristesse des sons et des images et le retour menaçant de la terminaison lugubre fait pressentir le Dante, on aura le *Dies Iræ*. (t. 2, p. 412.)

onward movement of the thoughts and feelings; whereof it professed to be, and thus indeed should be, the expression. A struggle therefore commenced from the first, between the form and spirit—between the old heathen form and the new Christian spirit—the latter seeking to release itself from the shackles and restraints which the former imposed upon it; and which were to it, not a help and a support, as the form ought to be, but a hindrance and a weakness—not liberty, but now rather a most galling bondage<sup>1</sup>. 'The new wine went on fer-

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<sup>1</sup> We see already in Prudentius the process of emancipation effectually at work, the disintegration of the old prosodic system already beginning. He still affects to write, and in the main does write, prosodically; yet with largest licences. Now it is not for a moment to be supposed that he was more ignorant than most school-boys of fourteen would be now, of the quantitative value which the old classical poets of Italy, with whose writings he was evidently familiar, had attributed to words; yet we continually find him attributing another, postponing quantity to accent, or rather allowing accent to determine quantity, as *cŷāneus*, *Sardīnia*, *ēnigma*. As his latest editor has observed: *Metrum haud rarò negligitur, quia poeta in arsi vv. majorem vim accentui quàm quantitati tribuit. (Obbarii Prudentius, p. 19.)* The whole scheme of Latin prosody must have greatly loosened and let go its hold, before he could have used the freedom which he does use, in the shifting and altering the value of syllables. We mark in him especially a determination not to be deprived altogether of the use of words through a metrical notation which excluded them *in toto* from a place in the hexameter. This technical hindrance shall not hold good, where the word is really required by him. Thus he writes *tēmulentus*, *delībutus*, *idōlolatrix*, *calceāmentum*, *margāritum*; though as regards this last word, in an iambic verse, where there was no motive, but the contrary, for producing the antepenultima, he restores to that syllable its true quantity, and writes *margārita*. In the same way it was not ignorance nor caprice, but the feeling that they must have the word *ecclesia* at command, while yet, if

menting in the old bottles, till it burst them asunder, though not itself to be spilt and lost in the process, but

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they left it with the antepenultima long, it could never find place in the pentameter, and only in one of its cases in the hexameter which induced the almost universal shortening of that syllable among the metrical writers of the Church. I cannot but think but that amid the many motives which prompted the Christian poets to strive after emancipation from the classical rules of quantity, first to slight, and then to cast them off, this must needs have had its weight: the opposition to the metrical scheme lay deeper than this, or at least this was but one moment of it: yet the fact, that the chiefest metres absolutely excluded, and rendered impossible ever to be used, a vast number of the noblest and even most necessary words, and rendered far more, though not absolutely excluded, yet inadmissible in far the greater number of their inflexions,—this must have been peculiarly intolerable to them. Craving the whole domain of words for their own, finding it only too narrow for the uttering of all that they were struggling to express, desiring, too, as must all whose thoughts and feelings are real, that their words should *fit close* to their sense, they could ill endure to be shut out from that which often was the best and fittest, by arbitrary, artificial, and, as they must have seemed to them, merely superfluous restrictions. Thus Augustine distinctly tells us that the motive which induced him to compose his very curious *Psalmus contra partem Donati* in the rhythm which he did, was that he might not be hampered or confined in his choice of words by the necessities of metre. He says: *Ideo autem non aliquo carminis genere id fieri volui, ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua verba quæ vulgo minus sunt usitata compelleret.* *Carmen* is here, as so often, used to signify a poem composed after the old classical models. He would claim for his own, as being popularly and not metrically written, to be only a *canticum*. The two words are brought into direct antithesis, and the statelier diction of the *carmen* indicated by Terentianus Maurus, 298:

Verba si non obvia  
*Carminis* servant honorem, non *jacentis cantici.*

To estimate how large a proportion of words, which in elevated Latin prose would be used, are yet under exclusion in verse, I analyzed a passage or two of Cicero's prose, and found in fifty lines



so to be gathered into nobler chalices, vessels more fitted to contain it—new, even as that which was poured into them was new.

We can trace step by step the struggle between the two principles of heathen and Christian life, which were here opposed to one another. As the old classical Roman element grew daily weaker in the new Christian world which now had been founded; as the novel element of Christian life strengthened and gained ground; as poetry became popular again, not the cultivated entertainment of the polite and lettered few, a graceful ornament of the scholar and the gentleman, but that in which all men desired to express, or to find expressed for them, their hopes and fears, their joys and their sorrows, and all the immortal longings of their common humanity;—a confinement became less and less endurable within the old and stereotyped forms, which, having had for their own ends their own fitness and beauty, were yet ordained for the expressing of far other thoughts and feelings and sentiments, than those which now stirred at far deeper depths the spirits and the hearts of men. The whole scheme on which the Latin prosodical poetry was formed, was felt to be

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about thirty words which no skill could introduce into the hexameter or pentameter: and if to these were added those which only by help of elisions could find place, as tribrachs, cretics ending in *m*, they would not amount to much less than a word a line. As the line contained in general fewer than eight words, it would be a fair statement to say that from the chief metres in the Latin language, one word out of every eight, which it might otherwise be desirable to use, is by the rules of its prosody excluded.

capricious, imposed from without; and the poetry which now arose demanded—not to be without law; for, demanding this, it would have demanded its own destruction, and not to be poetry at all; but it demanded that its laws and restraints should be such as its own necessities, and not those of quite a different condition, required<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Instructiones* of Commodianus, a poem quite valueless in a literary point of view, is yet curious in this respect; and the more curious now that it is placed by scholars in the latter half of the third century rather than in the fourth, where it used to be set. For very singular is it to find, more than an hundred years before the last notes of the classical muse had expired in Claudian, a poem of considerable length composed on the system of a total abandonment of quantity, and substitution of accent in its room—maintaining the apparent framework of the old classical hexameter, but filling it up on a principle altogether new. Nor can we suppose that this poem is the first specimen of its kind, however it is the first which has come down to our days. A poem so long, and in its fashion so elaborate, would have been scarcely the first composed in its kind. It is of so little value as to be in few hands; three or four lines may therefore be quoted as a specimen. These are part of a remonstrance against the pomp of female dress, § 60:

Obrultis collum monilibus, gemmis, et auro,  
Necnon et inaures gravissimo pondere pendent:  
Quid memorem vestes et totam Zabuli pompam?  
Respultis legem, cum vultis mundo placere.

Utterly prosaic if regarded as poetry, this work still bears the marks of a strong moral earnestness, of being the utterance of one who had something to say to his brethren, and was longing to say it: and no doubt here lay that which tempted the writer to forsake a system of versification which had become intolerably artificial in his time and for him; and to develop for himself, or finding developed to use, one in which he should in great part be released from its arbitrary obligations. In the following lines, forming part of an hymn first published by Niehbuhr (*Rhein. Museum*, 1829, p. 7), lines plainly intended to consist of four dactyles each, dactyles,



It is something then more than mere association, more than the fact that these metres, in all of most illustrious and most memorable which had been composed in them, had been either servants of the heathen worship, or at least appropriated to heathen themes, which induced the Church little by little to forsake them: which even at this day causes them at once to translate us into, and to make us feel that we are moving in, the element of heathen life. The bond is not thus merely historic and external, but spiritual and inward. And yet, at the same time, the influence of these associations must not be overlooked, when we are estimating the causes which combined to alienate the poets and hymnologists of the Christian Church ever more and more from the classical, and especially from the lyrical, metres of antiquity, and which urged them to seek more appropriate forms of their own. In those the heathen gods had been celebrated and sung, the whole impure mythology had been arrayed and tricked out. Were they not profaned for ever by these unholy

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that is, in sound, which with a little favouring of one or two syllables they may be made to appear, there is the same intention of satisfying the ear with accentuated and not prosodic feet. The lines are addressed to St Paul, and are themselves worthy to be quoted:

*Factus œconomus in domo regiâ,  
Divini muneris appone fercula;  
Ut quæ repleverit te sapientia,  
Ipsa nos repleat tua per dogmata.*

This hymn also, though considerably later than the poem of Commodianus, is certainly of a very early date. Niebuhr thinks he finds evidence in the MS. from which it is taken, that it cannot be later than the seventh century.

uses to which they had been first turned? How could the praises of the true and living God be fitly sung in the same? A like feeling to that which led to the abandonment of the heathen temples, and the seeking rather to develop the existing basilicas into Christian churches, or where new churches were built, to build them after the fashion of the civil, and not the religious, buildings already existing, must have been here also at work.

The faithful would have often shrunk from the involuntary associations which these metres suggested, as we should shrink from hearing a psalm or spiritual song fitted to some tune which had been desecrated to lewd or otherwise profane abuse. And truly there is, and we find it even now, a clinging atmosphere of heathen life shed round many of these metres, which it is almost impossible to dissipate; so that, reading some sacred thoughts which have arrayed themselves in sapphics, or alcaics, or hendecasyllables, we are more or less conscious of a certain contradiction between the form and the subject, as though they were awkwardly and unfitly matched, and one or other ought to have been different from what it is.

And here it may be fitly observed that the wonderful and abiding success of the hymns of St Ambrose, and of those so-called Ambrosian which were formed upon the model of his, lay doubtless in great part in the wise instinct of choice, which led him to select a metre by far the least markedly metrical, and the most nearly rhythmical, of all the ancient metres out of

which it was free to him to choose;—I mean the iambic dimeter. The time was not yet come when it was possible to substitute altogether rhythm for metre: the old had still too much vitality to be cast aside, the new was not yet clearly visible; but, choosing thus, he escaped, (as far, at least, as it was possible, using any of these forms, to escape,) the disturbing reminiscences and associations of heathen art<sup>1</sup>. While in a later day, hardly any thing so strongly shewed how Roman Catholic Italy had fallen back under pagan influences, was penetrated through and through at the revival of learning with the spirit of heathen, and not of Christian, life, as the offence which was then everywhere taken by Italian churchmen, Leo the Tenth at their head, at the unmetrical hymns of the Church, and the determination manifested to reduce them by any force to metre;—their very exemption from which was their glory, and that which made them to be Christian hymns in the highest sense<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See Bähr, *Die Christl. Dichter Roms*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The history of the successive revisions which the unmetrical hymns sustained, is given by Arevalus, an enthusiastic admirer of the process, in his *Hymnodia Hispanica*, Romæ, 1786, pp. 121—144, with this ominous heading: Romanorum pontificum in reformandâ Hymnodiâ diligentia. Daniel (*Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, Halis, 1841; Lipsiæ, 1844—6) has frequently given in parallel columns the hymn as it existed in earlier times, as probably it came from the author, and as it was recast in the Roman breviary. The comparison is very instructive, as shewing how well-nigh the whole grace and beauty, and even vigor, of the composition has disappeared in the process. With Scripture upon our side, it would not much trouble us, if Rome had for the present that æsthetical superiority, that keener sense of artistic beauty, which

This movement, then, which began early to manifest itself, for an enfranchisement from the old classical forms, this impatience of their restraints, was essentially a Christian one; yet we cannot doubt that it was assisted and made easier by the fact that the metrical system, against which the Church protested, and from which it sought to be delivered, had been itself brought in from without. Itself of foreign growth, it could oppose no such stubborn resistance as it would have done, had it been native to the soil, had its roots been entwined firmly with the deepest foundations of the Latin tongue.

It is abundantly known to all who take any interest in the early poetry of Rome, that it was composed on principles of versification altogether different from those which were introduced with the introduction of the Greek models in the sixth century of the City—that Latin hexameters, or “long” verses, were in all probability first composed by Ennius<sup>1</sup>, while the chief lyric metres belong to a much later day, having been introduced, some of the simpler kinds, as for instance the sapphic, by Catullus, and the more elaborate not till the time, and only through the successful example, of Horace<sup>2</sup>. It is known too that while the hexameter

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she claims: this would not trouble us, since, ultimately, where truth is, there highest beauty must be as well. But such facts as these, or as the hideous Italian Churches of the last three hundred years, need to be explained and accounted for, before she can make good her claim.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *De Legg.*, l. 2, c. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, *Epistl.*, l. 1. ep. 19, v. 21—34.

took comparatively a firm root in the soil, and on the whole could not be said to be alien to the genius of the Latin tongue, the lyric metres remained exotics to the end, were never truly acclimated,—nothing worth reading or being preserved having been produced in them, except by those who first transplanted them from Greek to Italian ground<sup>1</sup>. The Latin language was not, indeed, to be without its great lyric utterances, and such as should be truly its own; but was first to find them in the Christian hymns of the middle ages.

The poetry of home growth,—the old Italian poetry, which was thrust out by this new,—was composed, as we learn from the fragments which survive, and from notices lying up and down, on altogether a different basis of versification. There is no reason to believe that quantity, except as represented by and identical with accent, was recognized in it at all. For while accent belongs to every language and to every age of the language,—that is, in pronouncing any word longer than a monosyllable, an *ictus* or stress must fall on one syllable more than on others,—quantity is an invention more or less arbitrary. At how late a period, and how arbitrarily, and as from without, it was imposed on the Latin, the innumerable anomalies, inconsistencies, and contradictions in the prosodical system of the language sufficiently testify.

I know, indeed, that some have denied the early

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<sup>1</sup> Quintilian's judgment of his countrymen's achievements in lyric poetry is familiar to most (*Instit. Orat.*, 10, 1, 96): *Lyricorum Horatius ferè solus legi dignus.*

Latin verse to have rested on a merely accentual foundation. And, without such previous studies as should justify me in expressing an opinion, it would have been a piece of presumption, whereof I would not willingly be guilty, to have gone out of my way to meddle with a controversy upon which such high names are ranged upon either side. But lying as it does so directly in my path as not to be avoided, I cannot forbear saying, that, having read and sought to make myself master of what has come within my reach upon the question, and judging by the analogy of all other popular poetry, I have a strong conviction that Ferdinand Wolf<sup>1</sup>, Bähr<sup>2</sup>, and those others are in the right, who, admitting indeed the existence of Saturnian, that is old Italian, verses, deny that there was properly any such thing as a Saturnian metre—that is, any fixed scheme or frame-work of long and short feet, after the Greek fashion, according to which these Saturnian verses were composed; but rather that they consisted, as all ballad-poetry does, of a loosely defined number of syllables, not metrically disposed, but with places sufficiently marked, upon which a stress of the voice fell, to vindicate for them the character of verse<sup>3</sup>. The utter lack of agreement among them-

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<sup>1</sup> *Ueber die Lais*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. d. Römischer Literatur*, v. 1, p. 89. Cf. Edélestand du Ménil, *Poésies Populaires Latines*, Paris, 1843, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> It is characteristic of this, that *numeri* should be the proper Latin word for verses rather than any word which should correspond to the Greek *metre*. The Romans, in fact, counted their syllables and did not measure them, a certain *number* of these consti-



selves, on the part of the champions of the other theory, in regard of *how* the Saturnian verse should be scanned, and what feet we are even to look for in it, certainly of itself affords a strong presumption against them.

Into what these numbers would have unfolded themselves, as the nation advanced in culture, and as the ear, gradually growing nicer and more exacting in its requirements, claimed a finer melody, it is not easy to say; but Roman poetry at all events, as it would have had a character, so would it have rested on a basis of versification, which was its own. And knowing this, we can scarcely sympathize without reserve in the satisfaction of Horace at the change which presently came over it; however we may admit that, with the exception of his one greater cotemporary, he accomplished more than any other, to excuse and justify, and even to reconcile us to, the change. That change came, as is familiar to all, when, instead of being allowed such a process of natural developement from within, it was drawn out of its own orbit by the too prevailing attractions of the Greek literature, within whose influence the conquests of the sixth century brought it,—though indeed, that influence had commenced nearly a century before<sup>1</sup>.

It is, indeed, a perilous moment for a youthful lite-

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tuting a rhythm. *Numeri* is only abusively applied to verses which rest on music and time, and not on the number of the syllables. (See Niehbuhr's *Lectures on Early Roman History*, p. 11.)

<sup>1</sup> See the limitations upon Horace's well-known words, *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*, (*Epp.*, 2, 1, 156,) which Orelli, (in loc.) puts, and in like manner Niehbuhr.

rature,—so youthful as not yet to have acquired confidence in itself,—and, though full of latent capacities, having hitherto actually accomplished little,—to be brought within the sphere of an elder, which is now ending a glorious course, and which offers to the younger for its imitation finished forms of highest beauty and perfection. Most perilous of all is it, if these forms are not so strange, but that with some little skill they may be transplanted to the fresher soil, with a fair promise of growing and flourishing there. For the younger to adhere to its own forms and fashions, rude and rugged, and as yet only most imperfectly worked out—to believe that in them, and in cleaving to them, its true future is laid up, and not in appropriating the more elaborate models which are now offered ready to its hands—for it thus to refuse to be dazzled by the prospect of immediate results, and of overleaping a stage or two of slow and painful progress, this is indeed most hard; the temptation has proved oftentimes too great to be resisted.

It was so in the case which we are considering now. The Roman spirit could not, of course, utterly disappear, or be entirely suppressed. Quite sufficient of that spirit has remained to vindicate for Roman literature an independent character, and to free it from the charge of being merely the echo and imitation of something else; but the Roman forms did nearly altogether disappear, and even the Roman spirit was very considerably depressed and affected by the alien influence to which it was submitted.



The process, in truth, was wonderfully like that which found place, when, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the national poetry of Spain yielded to the influence of Italian models, and Castillejo was obliged to give place to Boscan and Garcilasso. The points of resemblance in these parallel cases are many. Thus in either case, the conquered, and at that time, morally, and so far as strength went, intellectually, far inferior people,—the people, therefore, with much less, as we may surely believe, of latent productivity for the future, whatever may have been the marvels which it had accomplished in the past,—imposed its literary yoke on the conquering and the nobler nation; caused it in a measure to be ashamed of what hitherto it had effected, or of what, continuing in its own line, it was likely to bring to pass. Nor was this the only point in which the processes were similar. There were other points of resemblance—as this, that it is impossible to deny but that here, as there, poetry of a very high order was composed upon the new models. Great results came of the change, and of the new direction in which the national taste was turned. Every thing, in short, came of it but the one thing, for the absence of which all else is but an insufficient compensation; namely, a thoroughly popular literature, which should truly smack of the soil from which it sprung, which should be the utterance of a nation's own life, and not merely accents, which, however sweet or musical, were yet caught from the lips of another, and only artificially fitted to its own.

But with the fading and growing weak of every thing else in the classical literature of Rome, this foreign usurpation faded and grew weak as well. It is more than possible, for indeed we have satisfactory evidence to the fact, that traditions of the old rhythms were preserved in the popular poetry throughout the whole period during which the metrical forms borrowed from the Greek alone were in vogue at the capital, and among those who laid claim to a learned education, that Saturnian or old Italian verses lived upon the lips of the people during all this interval<sup>1</sup>. We have con-

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<sup>1</sup> Muratori (*Antiqq. Ital.*, Diss. 40): Itaque duplex Poëseos genus olim exsurrexit, alterum antiquius, sed ignobile ac plebeium; alterum nobile et à doctis tantummodò viris excultum. Illud *rhythmicum*, illud *metricum* appellatum est. Sed quod potissimum est animadvertendum, quamquam Metrica Poësis primas arripuerit, omniumque meliorum suffragio et usu probata, laudibus ubique ornaretur: attamen Rhythmica Poësis non propterea defecit apud Græcos atque Latinos. Quum enim vulgus indoctum et rustica gens Poëtam interdum agere vellet, nec legibus metri addiscendis par erat; quales poterat, versus efformare perrexit: hoc est, Rhythmo contenta, Metrum contempsit: Metrum, inquam, hoc est, rigidas prosodiæ leges, quas perfecta Poësis sequitur. So Santen, in his *Notes on Terentianus Maurus*, p. 177: Nec tamen post Græciæ numeros, ab Andronico agresti Latio introductos, vetus Saturniorum modorum rusticitas cessavit, immo verò non solum ejus vestigia, sed ipsa etiam res in omne ævum superstes mansit. Yet he has certainly committed an oversight in adducing among his proofs the well-known lines of Horace, *Epp.*, 2, 1, 156—160, in which, having spoken of the ruder verses of an earlier day, he goes on to say:

... sed in longum tamen ævum

Manserunt, hodieque manent vestigia ruris.

All that he is here affirming is, that there were yet marks of rusticity (*vestigia ruris*) which had not been quite got rid of, cleaving

tinual allusion to such rustic melodies: and even were we without any such, we might confidently affirm that a people could never have been without a poetry, which existed under circumstances so favourable for its production as the Italian peasantry; and, if possessing a poetry, that it would be such as should find its expression in the old Italian numbers, and not in the Greek exotic metres. It is true that verses composed in these old and native numbers, on rhythmic, and not on metrical, principles, do not openly re-appear, that is, with any claims to be considered as literature, until the foreign domination began to relax its hold; but that no sooner was this the case, than at once they witness for their presence, putting themselves forth anew<sup>1</sup>.

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to the cultivated poetry of his country, to that which in the main was formed upon Greek models. Muratori falls into the same error, who explains the words of Horace in this way: Hoc est, quamvis à Græcis didicerimus metri regulas, et pro rudibus rusticorum rhythmis castigatos nunc politosque versus conficiamus, attamen rhythmica poësis perduravit semper et adhuc apud vulgus viget.

<sup>1</sup> There is much instructive on this subject in a little article by Niehbuhr, in the *Rhein. Museum*, 1829, p. 1—8. On the reappearance of the suppressed popular poetry of Italy, he says: Es ist auch wohl sehr begreiflich wie damals, als das eigentliche Latein, und die Formen der Litteratur nur mühselig durch die Schulen erhalten wurden, manches volksmässige sich frey machte, wieder empor kam, und einem Platz unter dem einnahm was die verblödete Schule seit Jahrhunderten geweiht hatte. Der neugriechische politische Vers, welcher dem Tact des Tanzes entspricht, ist ja der nämliche wonach König Philippus siegestrunken tanzte:

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς τὰδ' εἶπε—

nur dass Accent, nicht Sylbenmaass, dabey beachtet wird.

As something of an analogous case, we know that many words which Attius and Nævius used, and which during the Augustan period seemed to have been entirely lost, do begin to emerge and present themselves afresh in Appuleius, Prudentius, and Tertullian: the number of words, which are not Augustan, and yet are at once *ante-* and *post-Augustan*, must have struck every attentive observer of the growth and progress of the Latin tongue. The reappearance of these words in the writers of the silver age, is often explained as an affected seeking of archaisms on their parts; yet much more probably, the words were under literary ban for a time, but had lived on in popular speech, and when that ban was taken off, or was unable any more to give effect to its decrees, shewed themselves anew in books, as they had always continued alive in the common language of the people.

By thus going back toward the origins of the Latin literature, we can better understand how it came to pass, that when there arose up in the Christian Church a desire to escape from the confinement of the classical metres, and to exchange metrical for rhythmical laws, the genius of the language lent, instead of opposing, itself to the change; being instinctively conscious, that this new which was aimed at was also the old, indeed, the oldest of all; the recovering of a natural position from an unnatural and a strained one:—to which therefore it reverted the more easily.

And other motives,—having their origin no less in the same fact, that quantity was not indigenous to the

Latin soil, and therefore had struck no deep root, and obtained no wide recognition in the universal sense of the people,—were not wanting to induce the poet of these later times to abandon the ancient metres, and expatiate in the freer region of accented verse. Such a consummation was helped on and hastened by the gradual ignorance in regard of the quantity of words, which, with the waning and fading away of classical learning under the barbarian invasions, became every day wider spread. Even where the poet himself was sufficiently acquainted with the quantitative value of words, the number of readers or hearers who still kept this knowledge was every day growing less in the Roman world; the greater number being incapable of appreciating his skill, or finding any satisfying melody in his versification, the principles of which they did not understand; while the accentual value of words, as something self-evident, was recognizable by every ear.

And this fact that it was so, told in another way. For perhaps the most important step of all, for the freeing of verse from the fetters of prosody, and that which was most fatal to the maintenance of the old metrical system, was the introduction of liturgic chanting into the services of the Church—although this indeed was only the working out, in a particular aspect, of that new spirit which was animating it in every part. The Christian hymns were composed to be sung, and that at first by the whole congregation of the faithful, who were only little by little thrust out from their share in this part of the service. But the classical or prosodical

valuation of words would have been clearly inappreciable by the greater number of those whom it was desired should thus take part in the worship. If the voices of the assembled multitudes were indeed claimed for this, it could only be upon some scheme which should commend itself to all by its simplicity—which should appeal to some principle intelligible to every man, whether he had received an education of the schools, or not. Quantity, with its values so often merely fictitious and involving so many inconsistencies, could no longer be maintained as the basis of harmony. The Church naturally fell back on accent, which is essentially popular, appealing to the common sense of every ear, and in its broader features, in its simple rise and fall, appreciable by all;—which had also in its union with music this advantage, that it allowed to those, who were much more concerned about what they said, than how they said it, and could ill brook to be crossed and turned out of their way by rules and restraints, the necessity of which they did not acknowledge,—far greater liberty than quantity would have afforded them; inasmuch as the music, in its great choral harmonies, was ever ready to throw its broad mantle over the verse, to conceal its weakness, and, where needful, to cover its multitude of sins<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See F. Wolf, *Ueber die Lais*, p. 82—84.



## CHAPTER II.

**B**UT hand in hand with the process for exchanging metre for a merely accentuated rhythm, there went another movement, which also was probably only a recovery of the lost, having its first motive and origin, or at least its very clear anticipation, in the early national poetry of Italy—I mean the tendency to rhyme. It is true indeed that this also, except for the coming up of that new Faith which gave to the Latin language a second lease of life, and evoked from it capacities which had been dormant in it hitherto, might not and probably would not now have ever unfolded itself there, since its first and apparently most natural opportunity had long since past away.

Such an opportunity it had once enjoyed; for there is quite enough in the remains of early Latin poetry which we possess, to shew that rhyme was not a new element and one altogether alien to the language, which was brought into it by the Christian poets in the days of its decline. There were early preludings of that which should indeed only fully and systematically unfold itself at the last. The tendencies of the Saturnian verse, and of the other fragments of ancient Latin poetry which have reached us, to terminations of a like sound, have been often noticed<sup>1</sup>; and the two following, which are

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<sup>1</sup> Lange however goes much too far, when he affirms in an article in Jahn's *Jahrbuch der Philologie*, 1830, p. 256, that it systematically found place in the old popular poetry of Rome;

among the most remarkable examples,—one certainly from Ennius, and the other possibly his,—have been frequently quoted in proof. The first is from his *Andromache*:

Hæc omnia vidi inflammari,  
Priamo vi vitam evitari,  
Jovis aram sanguine turpari.

The other, of more uncertain authorship, is quoted by Cicero (*Tusc.*, l. 1, c. 28):

Cælum nitescere, arbores frondescere,  
Vites lætificæ pampinis pubescere,  
Rami bacarum ubertate incurvescere.

Of that poetry rhyme was a legitimate ornament. And even after a system had been introduced resting on altogether different principles of versification, namely, the system of Greek metres, whereof we have but now spoken—one in which rhyme was at best but a purple patch on a garment of altogether different a color,—yet was it so inborn in the language and inherent in it, that it continually made its appearance; being no doubt only with difficulty avoided by those writers, whose purer and austerer sense of beauty taught them not to catch at ornaments which were not properly theirs; and easily found by those who with a more questionable taste saw in it one of the resources at their command<sup>1</sup>. Thus we

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which was Casaubon's opinion as well, *ad Pers. Sat.*, l. 93, 94. Näge (*Rhein. Museum*, 1829, p. 368—392) takes a more reasonable view.

<sup>1</sup> See Bähr's *Gesch. d. Röm. Literatur*, v. 2, p. 681. It is evident that the Latin prose writers, even the best, and the comic writers whose verse was so like to prose, were quite willing sometimes to avail themselves of the satisfaction which the near recur-



can hardly doubt that these coincidences of sound were sedulously avoided by so great a master of the proprieties as Virgil—in whose works therefore rhyming verses rarely appear: while it is difficult not to suspect that they were sometimes sought, or, if not sought, yet not diligently shunned, but rather welcomed when they offered themselves, by an Ovid, in whom they occur far more frequently, and whose less severe taste might not have been unwilling to appropriate this as well as the more legitimate adornments which belong to the verse that he was using.

They occur indeed, verses with middle and final rhymes, in every one of the Latin poets. Thus, as examples of the middle rhyme, we have in Ennius:

Non cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes;

And in Virgil:

Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit;

So too in Ovid:

Quem mare carpentem, substrictaque crura gerentem;

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rence of words similarly ending affords to the ear. Thus Cicero himself (*Brut.* 87): *Volvendi sunt libri Catonis: intelliges nihil illius lineamentis, nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem et colorem defuisse.* So Pliny the younger: *Illam veram et meram Græciam.* And Plautus (*Cistell.*, 1, 1. 70): *Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus.* In the Christian prose-writers they are more frequent still, especially in Augustine. All readers of his will remember how often such chimes as this recur: *Lingua clamat, cor amat*; or, on the two Testaments: In *Novo patent*, quæ in *Vetere latent*; or, on the Christian's "hope of glory," *Præcedat spes, ut sequatur res.* Näke (*Rhein. Museum*, 1829, p. 392—401) has accumulated examples of a like kind from almost all the Latin prose-writers.

And again :

Quot cælum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas ;

And in a pentameter :

Quærebant flavos per nemus omne favos ;

Thus also in Claudian :

Flava cruentarum prætenditur umbra jubarum.

And these examples might easily be multiplied to a very great extent. As we descend lower, they become still more frequent. Thus such leonine verses abound in the *Mosella* of Ausonius.

Nor less have we final rhymes even in Virgil, as the following :

Nec non Tarquinium ejectum Porsena jubebat  
Accipere, ingentique urbem obsidione premebat.

Or again :

Omnis campis diffugit arator,  
Omnis et agricola, et tutâ latet arce viator.

So too in Horace, as when he gives his well-known precept :

Non satis est pulcra esse poemata ; dulcia sunt,  
Et quocumque volent, animum auditoris agunto.

Or again :

Multa recedentes adimunt. Ne fortè seniles  
Mandentur juveni partes, pueroque viriles.

As we reach an age of a less severe taste, they are more frequent : thus they abound in Lucan, though one example may suffice :

Crimen erit Superis et me fecisse nocentem,  
Sidera quis mundumque velit spectare cadentem <sup>1</sup> ?

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<sup>1</sup> I have not seen any collection of ὁμοιοτέλευτα out of Greek poetry, in which, indeed, they would be scarcely of so frequent occurrence as in Latin. The author of the treatise *De vitâ et*

When therefore at a later day rhyme began to enter as a permanent element into, and to be accounted almost a necessary condition of, poetical composition, this was not the introduction of something wholly strange or new. Rhyme, though new to Latin verse in the extent to which it was now adopted, yet had already made itself an occasional place even in the later or prosodic poetry of Rome; as no doubt it was, and would have continued to be, of far more frequent recurrence in that earlier national poetry, which, however, as we have seen, was suppressed before it had reached its full and natural developement.

But to return to the progressive steps by which it unfolded itself there—this much having been said to shew that it did not come in quite as a strange thing, but as that rather of which the germs were laid in the versification already existing, that it had that “early anticipation,” which one has given as among the sure marks of a true developement. And here it would be a great mistake, and one which all the documents that have come down to us would

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*poësi Homeri*, sometimes ascribed to Plutarch, adduces (c. 35) the *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* as one among the *σχήματα* of the Homeric poetry, and very distinctly recognizes the charm which rhyme has for the ear; for, having instanced as an example,

Ἦὺτ' ἔθνεα εἴσι μελίσσάων ἀδινάων  
Πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰὲν νέον ἐρχομενάων,

he goes on to say: Ταῖ δὲ εἰρημένα, καὶ ταῖ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα προστίθησι τῷ λόγῳ χάριν καὶ ἡδονήν.

refute, to consider the rhymed hexameter or pentameter as the earliest forms in which rhyme began to manifest itself—as though at first the attempt was made to reconcile the old and the new, and to preserve the advantages of both; while only later their incompatibility was discovered, and that nothing of any great or abiding value could come from this hybrid metre, from this attempt to superinduce rhyme upon a system of versification which rested wholly on a different basis, and to which it was, indeed, but as a new patch upon an old garment. It would be a great mistake to suppose that only so, and after such an attempt as this had been made and had failed, the more excellent way of a rhymed verse, which should be purely accentual, had been sought out and discovered. It was not in the regular adding of rhyme to the old Greek and Latin metres that its use and application first commenced: this, with all the artificial and laborious refinements into which it ran, was of much later birth, the first leonine verses not certainly dating higher than the sixth, and any frequent use of them than the eighth or ninth, centuries; the yet more complex arrangements of rhyme and metre in the heroic verse being later still; while rhyme itself belongs to the third and fourth centuries: and that poetry, in which it first displays itself, was far too genial and true a birth of something altogether different from literary idleness, to have fallen into any tricks or merely artificial devices, such as were after-

wards abundantly born of the combined indolence and ingenuity of the cloister<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the wonderfully curious and complex rules about rhyme, and directions for an infinite variety of its possible arrangements, in Eberhard's *Labyrinthus*, a sort of *Ars Poetica* of the middle ages, published in Leyser's *Hist. Poett. Med. Ævi*, p. 832—837. I will avail myself of the present opportunity to say something about the leonine verses, and the other kinds of verse, more or less nearly related to the leonine, which figure so prominently in the literary productions of those ages. The name leonine, which is sometimes, although wrongly, extended to lines with final as well as with sectional or internal rhymes, has been variously derived from various persons of the name of Leo, who were presumed first to have written them. Thus Eberhard :

Sunt inventoris de nomine dicta Leonis.

Or oftener still they have been derived from one Leonius or Leoninus, a canon of Notre Dame and Latin versifier of the 12th century. The derivation of the name from him is a curious example of the manner in which literary opinions once started are repeated again and again, no one taking the trouble to enquire into their truth. For, in the first place, it is perfectly certain that leonine verses existed long before his time. If this needed proving, Muratori (*Antt. Ital.*, Diss. 40) has abundantly proved it, adducing perfect leonine verses which belong to the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries. Among many more, these, which do not date later than the 9th :

Arbor sacra Crucis fit mundo semita lucis ;

Quam qui portavit, nos Christus in astra levavit.

And thus too J. Grimm (*Latein. Ged. d. x. u. xi. JH.*, p. xxiv.) : In Deutschland erscheinen leoninische Verse gleich mit dem Beginn der lateinischen Dichtkunst, und sind die Lieblingsform der Mönche vom neunten bis zum funfzehnten Jahrhundert. This objection has sometimes been sought to be evaded, by the supposition that Leonius, though not the first to compose, was the first to bring these verses to any perfection. (*Muratori*, v. 3. p. 687). But this is only propping up error with error ; for Edélestand du Méril affirms (*Poésies populaires Latines*, p. 78) from actual inspection, that in his poetry, which is considerable in bulk,

Rhyme rather shewed itself first in lines, which, having a little relaxed the strictness of metrical obser-

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there does not occur a single leonine verse, (except, I suppose, such accidental ones as will escape from almost every metrical writer in Latin). His chief poem, which is on the history of the Old Testament, is in the ordinary heroic metre. There is indeed one epistle written with final or tail rhymes, but no other portion of his poetry with rhyme at all. Du Ménil himself falls in with the other derivation, namely, that this metre was so called, because as the lion is king of beasts, so is this the king of metres; or as a writer in the 15th century thus explains it: *Leonini dicuntur à leone, quia sicut leo inter alias feras majus habet dominium, ita hæc species versuum.* While it would be certainly very hard to admit this kingly superiority of the leonine verse, it must, I think, be acknowledged that sometimes it is no infelicitous form for an epigram or a maxim, uttering it both with point and conciseness. We may take the following in proof:

*Permutant mores homines, cum dantur honores:  
Corde stat inflato pauper honore dato.*

Or again, these lines expressing a deep and important truth in the spiritual life:

*Cum bene pugnabis, cum cuncta subacta putabis,  
Quæ mox infestat, vincenda superbia restat.*

or this one on hid talents:

*In mundo duo sunt, quæ nil, abscondita, prosunt;  
Fossus humi census, latitans in pectore sensus.*

or this, on the permanence of early impressions:

*Quæ nova testa capit, inveterata sapit.*

or once more, on the need of elementary teaching:

*Parvis imbutus, tentabis grandia tutus.*

Here again is a brief epigram in praise of Clairvaux, in which the same rhyme repeats itself in both lines:

*Clara vale Vallis, plus claris clara metallis;  
Tu nisi me fallis, es rectus ad æthera callis.*

They were sometimes used in more festive verse, which also they did not misbecome:

*Cervisiæ sperno potum, præsentè Falerno,  
Sed tamen hanc quæro, deficiente mero.*



vance, sought to find a compensation for this in similar closes to the verse: and very far was it at first from

Est pluris bellus sonipes quàm parvus asellus,  
Hoc equitabo pecus, si mihi desit equus.

And here is a bitter epigram on the *vilain* of the middle ages, one of the many passages which bridge over the space between the word's original and present meaning:

Quando mulcetur villanus, pejor habetur:  
Ungentem pungit, pungentem rusticus ungit.

Being easily recollected, they were much in use to assist keeping in remembrance the arrangement of the Church Calendar, and the order of the Festivals. Durandus in his *Rationale* often alludes to and quotes them, as at l. 8. c. 3. James Grimm observes on them well: In ihnen ergeht sich die Kloster-poesie am behaglichsten, und ihre Feierlichkeit fordert sie: daher Inscriften für Gräber und Glocken, kleinere Sprüche und Memorabilien fast nur in ihnen verfasst wurden: sie tönen auch nicht selten klangvoll und prachtig. Thus on the fillet of a church-bell it was common to have these lines:

Festa sonans mando, cum funere prælia pando;  
Meque fugit quando resono cum fulmine grando.

The Frankish monarchs, as claiming to be Roman emperors, had a leonine verse on their seals:

Roma caput mundi regit orbis fræna rotundi.

In most of these lines it will hardly be denied that there is a certain strength and energy. Here is a somewhat longer specimen: the verses are drawn from a poem by Reginald, an English Benedictine monk, the cotemporary and friend of Anselm and of Hildebert:

Sæpe jacet ventus, dormit sopita juvenus:  
Aura vehit lenis, natat undis cymba serenis;  
Æquore sed multo Nereus, custode sepulto,  
Torquet et invertit navem dum navita stertit:  
Mergitur et navis, quamvis vehat aura suavis:  
Res tandem blandæ sunt mortis causa nefandæ.

A brief analysis of the whole poem from which this extract is drawn, and further quotations which are by no means without an elegance of their own, may be found in Sir A. Crooke's *Essay on*



that elaborate and perfect instrument which it afterwards became. We may trace it step by step from its

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*the History of Rhyming Latin Verse*, pp. 63—75. These too of Hildebert's on the Crucifixion are good :

Vita subit letum, dulcedo potat acetum :  
Non homo sed vermis, armatum vincit inermis,  
Agnus prædonem, vitulus moriendo leonem.

It is curious to observe the manner in which, during the middle ages, rhyme sought to penetrate everywhere. Thus we have leonine sapphics as well as leonine hexameters and pentameters. The following belong probably to the 12th or 13th century, (Hoinmey, *Supplementum Patrum*, p. 179,) and are further curious as being like the poem of Commodianus, see p. 12, to be scanned by accent only and not by prosody :

Virtutum chori, summo qui Rectori  
Semper astatis atque jubilatis,  
Ovis remotæ memores estote,  
Nosque juvate.  
Felices estis, patriæ celestis  
Clives, cunctorum nescii malorum,  
Quæ nos infestant, miseramque præstant  
Undique vitam.

Hexameters and pentameters with final rhymes, and these following close upon one another, as in our heroic verse, not artificially interlaced, (*interlaqueati*,) as in our sonnet or Spenserian stanza, were called in the middle ages *caudati*, as having tails (*caudas*). On the whole they were not, I think, quite as much cultivated as the leonine, although of them also immense numbers were written : nor do they very often reach the strength and precision which the leonine sometimes attains, and I should say are inferior to it, at least judging by the results severally producible in the two kinds ; yet they too are not incapable of a certain terseness and even elegance, of the same character as we have seen the leonine verses to display. An example or two may suffice. In these lines Hildebert describes how the legal shadows are outlines of the truth, but do yet disappear and fly away, Christ the substance being come :

Agnus enim legis carnales diluit actus,  
Agnum præsignans, qui nos lavat hostia factus :

first rude and uncertain beginnings, till, in the later hymnologists of the 12th and 13th century, an Aquinas,

Quis locus Auroræ, postquàm Sol venit ad ortum?

Quisve locus votis, teneat quum navita portum?

So too he sums up in two lines the moral of the parable, Luke xiv. 16—24 :

Villa, boves, uxor, cœnam clausere vocatis :

Mundus, cura, caro, cœlum clausere renatis.

It is by no means uncommon to find a continual passing and re-passing from one of these arrangements of rhyme to the other : thus in the *Carmen Paræneticum* ascribed to St Bernard (*Opp.*, v. 2. p. 909) :

Amplius in rebus noli sperare caducis,

Sed tua mens cupiat æternæ gaudia lucis :

Fallitur insipiens vitæ præsentis amore,

Sed sapiens nescit quanto sit plena dolore.

Quidquid formosum mundus gerit et pretiosum

Floris habet morem, cui dat natura colorem :

Mox ut siccatur, totus color annihilatur ;

Postea nec florem monstrat, nec spirat odorem.

And then presently he passes back from the leonine to the tail rhymes, intermingling besides with these a third form, which has its origin in the combination of these two. The *caudati tripertiti*, for so they are called, are divided, as their name indicates, into three sections, each containing two feet ; the first and second sections in every line rhyme with one another, and so far they resemble the leonine ; but they are also tailed, in that the close of one line rhymes with the close of the succeeding. I know none of this kind which are not almost too hopelessly bad to quote. Here however is a specimen :

Est data sævam causa per Evam perditionis,

Dum meliores sperat honores voce draconis.

They are curious, however, inasmuch as in these triparted distichs we trace the rudiments, as F. Wolf has clearly shown (*Ueber die Lais*, p. 200), of that much employed six-line strophe of modern European poetry, in which the rhymes are disposed thus, *a a b c c b*, the stanza which has attained its final glory in the *Ruth* of Wordsworth ; each of the Latin lines falling into three sections, and thus the couplet expanding into the strophe of six lines.

or an Adam of St Victor, it displayed all its latent capacities, and attained its final glory and perfection, satiating the ear with a richness of melody that scarcely is anywhere to be surpassed. At first the rhymes were often merely vowel or assonant ones, the consonants not being required to agree; or the rhyme was adhered to, when it was convenient, but, when it cost trouble to find the needful word, was disregarded; or the rhyme was allowed, or even arranged, to fall on an unaccented syllable, and was therefore scarcely noticeable; or consisted merely in the similar termination of a single letter; or, on the strength of this like ending, and in reliance upon this as sufficiently sustaining the melody, the whole other construction of the verse, and arrangement of the syllables was neglected<sup>1</sup>.

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Besides Wolf's treatise above alluded to, which is full of instruction on the subject, there are two treatises on leonine and other rhymed poetry of the middle ages in *Gebaveri Anthologia Dissertationum*, Lips., 1733; one, p. 265, *Pro Rhythmis, seu Omoio-teleutis Poeticis*; another by Elias Major, p. 299, *De Versibus Leoninis*. Sir A. Crooke, in his *Essay on Rhyming Latin Verse*, has drawn on these rather freely, but has also information of his own.

<sup>1</sup> It may be that they who first used it, were oftentimes scarcely or not at all conscious of what they were doing. Thus Ampère says very beautifully upon the hymns of St Ambrose, in which he traces such unconscious preludings to the later rhymed poetry of Christendom: Ces hymnes sont versifiés d'après la règle de la métrique ancienne, mais il est curieux de voir une tendance à la rime se produire évidemment dans ces strophes analogues à celles d'Horace. Ce qui sera le fondement de la prosodie des temps modernes, la rime, n'est pas encore une loi de la versification, et déjà un besoin mystérieux de l'oreille l'introduit dans les vers pour ainsi dire à l'insu de l'oreille elle-même. (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. 1, p. 411.)

Seeing that these things are so, and that it lies in our power to trace thus distinctly, and as it were step by step, the whole rise and growth of the Latin rhymed poetry, to preside even at its birth and at its cradle,—it certainly seems strange that so many should have affirmed that it borrowed its rhyme from languages, which assuredly do not now preserve any examples in this kind which are not of a very far later date than much which we possess in the Latin tongue. These are the words of one who has made a study of the subject<sup>1</sup>: “I know of no poem written in a Gothic dialect with final rhyme, before Otfrid’s *Evangelii*. This was written in Frankish, about the year 870.” It is true that Guest, whose authority I here quote, supposes the Latin rhymers to have gotten rhyme from the Celtic race,—among which undoubtedly it existed very early, the Welch using it as early as the 6th century—and, having thus derived it from them, to have in their turn imparted it to the Gothic nations. But a necessity for this unlikely hypothesis rests only on his strange mistake, that “the Romans were confessedly ignorant of rhyme.” Certainly, if we found it suddenly starting up in its final perfection, complete and lacking nothing,—as we do find some of the Greek lyric metres, the complex *alcaic*, for example, in the pages of Horace,—we could then hardly come to any other conclusion, but that it had been gotten *ab extra*, even though we might not be able to say with any certainty from what

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<sup>1</sup> Guest, *History of English Rhythms*, v. 1, p. 119.

quarter it had been derived. But every thing about its introduction serves rather to mark it as *autochthonic*<sup>1</sup>. We see it in its weak and indistinct beginnings, not yet knowing itself or its own importance; we mark its irregular application at first; the lack of skill in its use; the poor assonances instead of the full consonances; with the only gradual discovery of its fullest capabilities;—the chimes having been at first, probably, but happy chances, found, like the pointed arch, without having been sought; but which yet, once discovered, the instinct of genius adopted and cultivated and improved, as being that very thing which it needed, and unconsciously had been feeling after; and now had attained.

Yet thus refusing to suppose the Latin rhyming poetry to have borrowed its rhyme from the Romance or Gothic languages, we are not therefore obliged to accept the converse, and with Tyrwhitt<sup>2</sup> and others to assume that *they* got it from the Latin, however that might be of the two the more tolerable supposition. But, after the investigations of later years, no one ought any longer to affirm rhyme to have been the exclusive in-

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<sup>1</sup> Ampère has expressed this as his conviction. Writing on the Latin poetry of the 11th century, he says: *La tendance à la rime, qui nous avait déjà frappés chez Saint Ambroise, a toujours été, de siècle en siècle, s'accusant plus nettement. Au temps où nous sommes parvenus, elle a fini par triompher. Ce qui n'était d'abord qu'une fantaisie de l'oreille a fini par devenir un besoin impérieux et par se transformer en loi. Il n'est donc pas nécessaire de chercher d'autre origine à la rime; elle est née du sein de la poésie latine dégénérée.*

<sup>2</sup> *Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer*, p. 51.

vention of any one people, and from them to have passed over into other languages and literatures; as do Warton and Sismondi, when they derive it from the Arabs. Rhyme can as little be considered the exclusive discovery of any one people as of any single age. It is rather, like poetry, like music, the natural result of a deep craving of the human mind: as it is the almost inevitable adjunct of a poetry not quantitative, and almost certainly developing itself there. This last point has been well expressed, and the causes of it rightly stated by a writer but just now quoted<sup>1</sup>. He says: "When the same modification of sound recurs at definite intervals, the coincidence very readily strikes the ear, and when it is found in accented syllables, such syllables fix the attention more strongly than if they merely received the accent. Hence we may perceive the importance of rhyme in accentual verse. It is not, as it is sometimes asserted, a mere ornament: it marks and defines the accent, and thereby strengthens and supports the rhythm. Its advantages have been felt so strongly, that no people have ever adopted an accentual rhythm, without also adopting rhyme." In this its universality, in the fact, too, that it is peculiar neither to the early rudeness of a barbarous age, nor to the over-refined ingenuity of a late and artificial one, but runs through whole literatures from their beginning to their end, we find its best defence;—or, indeed, that rather which exempts it from needing any

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<sup>1</sup> Guest, *History of English Rhythms*, v. 1, p. 116.



defence, being, as it is, the proof that it lies deep in our human nature and satisfies an universal need, since else so many people would not have come upon it, or having come, so inflexibly maintained it.

For we do encounter it everywhere—in the furthest West, in the earliest Celtic poems, Welsh and Irish—in the extremest East, among the Chinese, in the Sanscrit,—and no less in the Persian and Arabic poetry, in the Gothic and Scandinavian—no formal discovery, as no borrowed skill, in any case; but in all the well nigh instinctive result of that craving after periodic recurrence, proportion, limitation,—of that sense out of which all rhythm and all metre springs, namely, that the streams of passion must have banks within which to flow, if they are not to waste and lose themselves quite,—with the desire to mark and to make distinctly noticeable to the ear these limits and restraints, which the verse, for its own ultimate good, imposes upon itself<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ewald (*On the Poetic Books of the Old Testament*, v. 1, p. 57) has expressed himself very profoundly on this matter: "A stream of words and images, an overflowing and impetuous diction, a movement which in its first violence seems to know no bounds nor control—such is the earliest manifestation of poetic diction! But a diction which should only continue in this its earliest movement, and hurry onward, without bounds and without measure, would soon destroy its own beauty, even its very life. Yea rather, the more living and overflowing this onward movement is, by so much the more needful the restraint and the limitation, the counteraction and tranquillization, of this becomes. This mighty inspiration and expiration; this rise with its commensurate fall; this advance in symmetrical diction, which shall combine rest and motion with one another, and mutually reconcile them; this is rhythm, or regulated beautiful movement."



We may observe that the prosodic poetry of Greece and Rome was equally obliged to mark this, though it did it in another way. For example, had dactyles and spondees been allowed to be promiscuously used in every part of the hexameter line, if once the hearer had lost the termination of the line, it would have been almost impossible for him to recover it: at any rate, no satisfying indication would have reached his ear, that the verse was ending. But the fixed dactyle and spondee of the conclusion answer the same purpose of strongly marking the close, as does the rhyme in the accentual verse: and in other metres, in like manner, licenses permitted in the beginning of the line are excluded at its close, the motives for this greater strictness being the same.

It is the non-recognition of this, man's craving after, and deep delight in, the rhythmic and periodic—a craving which nature everywhere meets and gratifies, and which all truest art seeks to gratify as well,—a seeing nothing in all this but a trick and artifice applied from without,—this it is which lies at the root of that singular theory concerning the unfitness of poetry to be a vehicle for our highest addresses to God, and most reverent utterances about Him, which the accomplished author of the *Day in the Sanctuary* has enounced in the preface to that volume. Any one who, with near the skill in versification and command over language which he himself has manifested elsewhere, undertakes to comply with the requirements which verse imposes, knows that the necessity for so doing is indeed no bondage, but

(rather a perfect freedom ; that to move according to law is felt to be the freest movement of all<sup>1</sup>. Every one, too, who without this peculiar experience has watched the effect on his own mind of the orderly marching of a regiment, or of the successive breaking of waves upon the shore, or of ought else which is thus *rhythmic and periodic*, knows that in this, inspiring as it does the sense of order, and proportion, and purpose, there is ever an elevating and solemnizing power—a truth to which language, the best, because the most unconscious, witness, sets its seal, having in the Latin but one and the same word, for the solemn and the recurring.

I have said above, that we are not bound to assume that the poetries of modern Europe derived their rhyme from the Latin ; when we reject the converse proposition, that the Latin derived it from them. But the mediæval Latin poetry, without standing in so close a technical relation as this to the modern poetry of Europe, without having been thus the source from which the latter obtained its most characteristic ornament, does yet stand in most true and living relation to it ; has exerted upon it a most effectual influence, and one which probably has been scarcely estimated as highly as it ought. It is difficult to measure the extent to which

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<sup>1</sup> Goethe's noble words, uttered with a larger intention, have yet their application here :

Vergebens werden ungebundne Geister  
 Nach der Vollendung reiner Höhe streben :  
 In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,  
 Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben.

that poetry acted as a conductor of the thoughts and images of the old world to the new, making the stores of that old world to be again the heritage of the popular mind—stores which, but for it, would have been locked up till the more formal revival of learning, then perhaps to become, not the possession of the many, but only of the few. How important for the developement of the human mind was the part which it played, filling up a space that was in a great measure unoccupied by any other works of imagination at all; lending to men an organ by which to utter their thoughts, when as yet the modern languages of Europe were in the first process of their formation, and quite unable to be the adequate clothing for these.

Thus the earliest form in which the *Reineke Fuchs*, the great fable epic of the middle ages, appeared,—the significance of which in European literature, no one capable of forming a judgment on the matter will lightly esteem,—is now acknowledged to have been Latin. A poem in four books, in elegiac metre, of which the author is unknown, supplied mediately or immediately the ground-plan to all the subsequent dispositions of the matter. Of course it is not meant hereby to deny the essentially popular character of the poem, or to affirm that the Latin poet invented that, which, no doubt, already lived upon the lips of the people; but only that in this Latin the fable-lore of the German world first took shape, and found a distinct utterance for itself<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The existence of such an original was long unsuspected, even after an earnest interest had been awakened in the *Reineke Fuchs*

And thus too out of that dreariest tenth century, that wastest place, as it is commonly and indeed rightly esteemed, of European literature and of the human mind, James Grimm has published a brief Latin epic of very high merit<sup>1</sup>; while Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, whose death took place quite early in the eleventh (1027), could celebrate the song of the nightingale in strains such as these.

Cùm telluris, vere novo, producuntur germina,  
 Nemorosa circumcirca frondescunt et brachia;  
 Fragrat odor cùm suävis florida per gramina,  
 Hilarescit Philomela, dulcis sonûs<sup>2</sup> conscia,  
 Et extendens modulando gutturi spiramina,  
 Reddit veris et æstivi temporis præconia.  
 Instat nocti et diei voce sub dulcisonâ,  
 Soporatis dans quietem cantûs per discrimina,  
 Necnon pulcra viatori laboris solatia.  
 Vocis ejus pulchritudo clarior quàm cithara;  
 Vincitur omnis cantando volucrum catervula;  
 Implet sylvas atque cuncta modulis arbustula,  
 Gloriosa valde facta veris præ lætitiâ.  
 Volitando scandit alta arborum cacumina,  
 Ac festiva satis gliscit sibilare carmina.  
 Cedit auceps ad frondosa resonans umbracula,  
 Cedit olor et suävis ipsius melodia;  
 Cedit tibi tympanistra et sonora tibia;  
 Quamvis enim videaris corpore permodica,  
 Tamen cuncti capiuntur hâc tuâ melodiâ:  
 Nemo dedit voci tuæ hæc dulcia carmina,  
 Nisi solus Rex cœlestis qui gubernat omnia<sup>3</sup>.

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itself. It was first published by Mone, *Reinhardus Vulpes*, Stuttgart, 1832.

<sup>1</sup> *Waltharius*. It had been published indeed before; and has since been so by Du Méril, *Poésies popul. Lat.*, 1843, p. 313—377.

<sup>2</sup> *Sonus* re-appears here as of the fourth declension. See Freund's *Lat. Wörterbuch*, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> *D. Fulberti Opera Varia*, Paris, 1608, p. 181.

Surely with all its rudeness and deficiencies this poem has the true passion of nature, and contains in it the prophecy of much more than it actually accomplishes. In that

Gloriosa valde facta veris præ lætitiâ,  
we have no weak preludes of such rapturous enthusiasm and inspiration in like kind, as at a later day have given us such immortal hymns as Shelley's Ode to the Skylark, and as others of a merit nearly or altogether as great.

Or consider these lines of Marbod, bishop of Rheims, in the twelfth century, which, stiffly and awkwardly versified as they may be, have yet a further and deeper interest, as touching on those *healing* influences of nature, the sense of which is almost, if not entirely, confined to modern, that is to Christian, art. They belong to a poem on the coming of the spring; and, as the reader will observe, are in leonine hexameters:

Moribus esse feris prohibet me gratia veris,  
Et formam mentis mihi mutuor ex elementis.  
Ipsi naturæ congratulor, ut puto, jure:  
Distinguunt flores diversi mille colores,  
Gramineum vellus superinduxit sibi tellus,  
Fronde virere nemus et fructificare videmus:  
Egrediente rosâ viridaria sunt speciosa.  
Qui tot pulcra videt, nisi flectitur et nisi ridet,  
Intractabilis est, et in ejus pectore lis est;  
Qui speciem terræ non vult cum laude referre,  
Invidet Auctori, cujus subservit honori  
Bruma rigens, æstas, auctumnus, veris honestas<sup>1</sup>.

May we not say that the old monkish poet is anticipating here,—and however faintly, yet distinctly,—such

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<sup>1</sup> *Hildeberti et Marbodi Opera*, ed. Beaugendre, Paris, 1708, p. 1617.

strains as the great poets of nature in our own day have made to be heard—the conversion of the witch Maimuna in Thalaba, Peter Bell, or those loveliest lines in Coleridge's *Remorse*?

With other ministrations, thou, O Nature,  
 Healest thy wandering and distempered child;  
 Thou pourest on him thy soft influences,  
 Thy sunny hues, fair forms, and breathing sweets,  
 Thy melodies of woods, and winds, and waters!  
 Till he relent, and can no more endure  
 To be a jarring and a dissonant thing  
 Amid this general dance and minstrelsy;  
 But bursting into tears wins back his way,  
 His angry spirit healed and harmonized  
 By the benignant touch of love and beauty.

Hard measure is for the most part dealt to this poetry<sup>1</sup>. Men come to it with a taste formed on quite

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<sup>1</sup> Few are so just to it as Bähr (*Die Christl. Dichter Rom's*, p. 10): Wenn wir daher auch nicht unbedingt die Ansicht derjenigen theilen können, welche die Einführung dieser Christlichen Dichter statt der heidnischen in Schulen zum Zwecke des Sprachunterrichts wie zur Bildung eines ächt christlichen Gemüths vorschlagen, aus Gründen, die zu offen da liegen, um weiterer Ausführung zu bedürfen, die auch nie, selbst in Mittelalter, verkannt worden sind, so glauben wir doch dass es zweckmässig und von wesentlichem Nutzen seyn dürfte den Erzeugnissen christlicher Poesie auch auf unseren höheren Bildungsanstalten eine grössere Aufmerksamkeit zuzuwenden, als diess bisher der Fall war, die Jugend demnach in den obern Classen der Gymnasien und Lyceen mit den vorzüglicheren Erscheinungen dieser Poesie, die ihnen jetzt so ganz fremd ist und bleibt, bekannt zu machen, ja selbst einzelne Stücke solcher Dichtungen in die Chrestomathien Lateinischer Dichter, in denen sie wahrlich, auch von andern Standpunkten aus betrachtet, eine Stelle neben manchen Productionen der heidnischen Zeit verdienen, aufzunehmen, um so zugleich den lebendigen Gegensatz der heidnischen und christli-



other models, trying it by laws which were not its laws, by its approximation to a standard which is so far from being its standard, that the nearer it reaches that, the further removed from any true value it is. They come trying the Gothic dome by the laws of the Greek temple, and because they do not find in it that which, in its very faithfulness to its own idea, it cannot have, they have treated it as worthy only of scorn and contempt. Nor less have they forgotten, in estimating the worth of this poetry, that much which appears trite and commonplace to us, was yet very far from being so at its first utterance<sup>1</sup>. When the Gothic nations which divided the Roman empire began to crave intellectual and spiritual food, in the healthy hunger of their youth there lay the capacity of deriving truest nourishment from that which to us, partly from our far wider range of choice, and partly also from a satiated appetite, seems little calculated to yield it<sup>2</sup>.

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chen Welt und Poesie erkennen zu lassen, und jugendlichen Gemüthern frühe einzuprägen.

<sup>1</sup> Ampère (t. 3, p. 213) says with great truth, and on this very subject of medieval Latin verse: Ce qui est peu important pour l'histoire de l'art peut l'être beaucoup pour l'histoire de l'esprit humain.

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand Wolf, in his learned and instructive work, *Ueber die Lais*, p. 281, has observed, and James Grimm has made very nearly the same observation, that a history of this medieval Latin poetry is a book at this day still waiting to be written, and which, when it is written, will fill up what is now a huge gap in the literary history of Europe. We have indeed nothing in the kind but Leyser's compendium, *Historia Poëtarum et Poëmatum Medii Ævi*, Halæ, 1721, which would have its use for the future labourer in this field, which he would find especially serviceable in its copious



But considerations of this kind would lead me too far; and they lie too wide of the immediate scope of

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literary notices; but for a book making, as by its title it does, some claim to completeness, absurdly fragmentary and imperfect,—and this, even when is added to it another essay, which Leyser published two years earlier, *Diss. de fictâ mediæ ævi barbarie imprimis circa Poësin Latinam*, Helmstadt, 1719. Less complete than even in his own day he might have made it, it is far more deficient now, when so much bearing on the subject has been brought to light, which was then unknown. The volume, too, is as much at fault in what it has, as what it has not—including vast poems of very slightest merits; and from which an extract or two had sufficed. Edelestand du Méril's two volumes, *Poésies populaires Latines antérieures au douzième Siècle*, Paris, 1843, and *Poés. pop. Lat. du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1847, contain many valuable notices, and poems which have not previously, or have only partially or incorrectly, been printed. But, as the titles of the works indicate, they have only to do with the *popular Latin* poetry of the middle ages.—Whoever undertakes such a work, must be one who esteems as the glory of this poetry, and not as its shame, its endeavour to emancipate itself, if not always from the forms, yet always from the spirit, of the classical poetry of the old world—its desire to stand on its own ground, to grow out of its own root. Indeed no one else would have sufficient love to the subject to move him to face the labours and wearinesses which it would involve. The later Latin poetry, that which has flourished since the revival of learning, and which has drawn its inspiration not from the Church, but from the ancient heathen world, has found a very careful and enthusiastic historian; one however who, according to my convictions, has begun his work just where that of any true value has ended, leaving untouched the whole period which really offers much of any deep or abiding interest. I mean Budik, in his work *Leben und Wirken der vorzüglichsten Latein. Dichter des XV.—XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1828. Such, however, was not his mind, who could thus express himself about the Christian middle ages; and his words are worth quoting for the fanaticism of contempt which they express—a fanaticism which was possible twenty years ago, but would hardly be so now, when we are in

this volume, to allow me to follow them further. Already what I thought to put into a few paragraphs has insensibly grown almost into an essay, having from its length some of the pretensions of an essay, with at the same time little that should justify those pretensions. I may not further encroach upon the room which I wish to reserve for other men's words, rather than to preoccupy with my own: and whatever else might have been said upon the subject,

spatiis exclusus iniquis

Prætereo—

willingly ending with a word from him, the chiefest in Latin art, for whom I do not feel that our admiration need in the least be diminished by our ability to admire also a Latin verse, composed on very different principles; and, if possessing, yet needing also, large compensations, for all which *it* has not, but which he with his illustrious fellows has; and which must leave, in regard of so much, the great masterpieces of Greece and Rome for ever without competitor or peer.

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danger rather of exaggerations in the other extreme. He says: "Since the ages of Pericles and Augustus, the perfect creations of which enjoy an everlasting youth, until the middle of the fifteenth century, one sees nothing but a waste, whose dreary and barren uniformity is only broken by some scattered brushwood, and whose most vigorous productions awaken rather astonishment than admiration."

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# P O E M S.

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## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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OF the life of Adam of St Victor, the most fertile, and, as I am inclined to believe, the greatest of the Latin hymnologists of the middle ages, very little is known. He appears to have been a native of Brittany, although the terms *breton*, *brito*, by which the early writers that mention his name designate him, leave in some doubt whether England might not have had the honour of giving him birth. The authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. 15, p. 40—45, think that there are some probabilities in favour of this supposition. Yet the fact that France was undoubtedly the great seat of Latin poetry in the 12th century, and that all the chief composers in this kind, as Hildebert, the two Bernards, Marbod, Peter the Venerable, were Frenchmen, leaves it far more likely that he, the chiefest of all, was such as well. At all events he made his studies at Paris, where he entered the religious foundation of St Victor, then in the suburbs, but at a later day included within the walls, of Paris, in which he continued to his death. The year of his death is unknown; the *Gallia Christiana* says vaguely, that he died between 1173 and 1194. His epitaph, graven on a plate of copper in the cloister of St Victor, near the door of the church, remained till the general destruction of the first Revolution. It is worthy to be

quoted, for, bating the one doctrinal error which belongs rather to the time than to the man, it possesses a grand moral flow; and bears moreover strong internal evidence, especially in the play upon his name, of being what it professes to be, his own.

Hæres peccati, naturâ filius iræ,  
 Exiliique reus nascitur omnia homo.  
 Unde superbit homo, cujus conceptio culpa,  
 Nasci pœna, labor vita, necesse mori?  
 Vana salus hominis, vanus decor, omnia vana;  
 Inter vana nihil vanius est homine.  
 Dum magis alludit præsentis gloria vitæ,  
 Præterit, immo fugit; non fugit, immo perit.  
 Post hominem vermis, post vermem fit cinis, heu, heu!  
 Sic redit ad cinerem gloria nostra simul.  
 Hic ego qui jaceo miser et miserabilis Adam,  
 Unam pro summo munere posco precem:  
 Peccavi, fateor, veniam peto, parce fatenti,  
 Parce pater, fratres parcite, parce Deus.

It is impossible to doubt that Adam of St Victor partook to the full of the theological culture of the school to which he belonged; for this indeed is evident from his hymns, which have oftentimes as great a theological, as poetical or even devotional interest, the first indeed sometimes predominating to the injury of the last. The aim of that illustrious school of theology, especially in its greatest men, Hugo, and his scholar Richard, of St Victor, the first called in his day *lingua Augustini, alter Augustinus*, and both of them cotemporaries of Adam, was to unite and harmoniously to reconcile the scholastic and mystic tendencies, the light and warmth, which had appeared more in opposition in Abelard and Bernard: and to this its noble purpose and aim it long remained true: nor would it be easy to exaggerate the influence for good which went forth from this institution during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries upon the whole Church. (See Liebner's *Hugo von St Victor*, p. 9—16.) It long remained faithful to the cultivation of

sacred song: for, in later times, Santeul, truly a very different kind of poet from him with whom now we have to do, was a Victorine as well.

Very different estimates have been formed of the merits of Adam of St Victor's hymns. His greatest admirers will hardly deny that he pushes too far, and plays overmuch with, his skill in the typical application of the Old Testament<sup>1</sup>. So too they must own that sometimes he is unable to fuse with a perfect success his manifold learned allusion into the passion of his poetry. How full of this learned

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<sup>1</sup> Calderon seems often to me, consciously or unconsciously, an imitator of Adam of St Victor's manner—knitting together, as he does, a succession of allusions to Old Testament types, and weaving them with more or less success into the woof of a single poem. This hymn, drawn from an Auto of his, on the Holy Eucharist, will serve as an illustration of what I mean:

Honey in the lion's mouth,  
 Emblem mystical, divine,  
 How the sweet and strong combine;  
 Cloven rock for Israel's drouth;  
 Treasure house of golden grain,  
 By our Joseph laid in store,  
 In his brethren's famine sore  
 Freely to dispense again;  
 Dew on Gideon's snowy fleece;  
 Well from bitter changed to sweet;  
 Shew-bread laid in order meet,  
 Bread whose cost doth ne'er increase  
 Though no rain in April fall;  
 Horeb's manna, freely given,  
 Showered in white dew from heaven,  
 Marvellous, angelical;  
 Weightiest bunch of Canaan's vine;  
 Cake to strengthen and sustain  
 Through long days of desert pain;  
 Salem's monarch's bread and wine;—  
 Thou the antidote shalt be  
 Of my sickness and my sin,  
 Consolation, medicine,  
 Life and Sacrament to me.

allusion they are, I had evidence during the preparation of this volume, in the amount of explanatory notes which they required,—so far larger than almost any other equal quantity of verse which it contains. Nor less must it be allowed that he is sometimes guilty of *concetti*, of plays upon words, not altogether worthy of the solemnity of his theme. Thus of one martyr he says:

Sub securi stat securus;

of another:

Dum torretur, non terretur;

of the blessed Virgin, (for he did not escape, as it was not to be expected that he should, the errors and superstitions of his time):

O dulcis vena veniæ;

of heaven:

Oh quàm beata curia,  
Quæ curæ prorsus nescia.

Sometimes too he is fond of displaying feats of skill in versification, of prodigally accumulating, or curiously interlacing, his rhymes, that he may shew his perfect mastery of the forms which he is using, and how little he is confined or trammelled by them.

These faults it will be seen are indeed most of them but merits pushed into excess. And even accepting them as defects, his profound acquaintance with the whole circle of the theology of his time, and eminently with its exposition of Scripture,—the abundant and admirable use, with indeed the drawback already mentioned, which he makes of it, delivering as he thus does his poems from the merely *subjective* cast of those, beautiful as they are, of St Bernard,—the exquisite art and variety with which for the most part his verse is managed and his rhymes disposed—their rich melody multiplying and ever deepening at the close—the strength which often he concentrates into a single



line<sup>1</sup>—his skill in conducting a narration<sup>2</sup>—and most of all, the evident nearness of the things which he celebrates to his own heart of hearts—all these, and other excellencies,

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<sup>1</sup> Thus of a Roman governor, who, alternating flatteries with threats, is seeking to bribe one of the early martyrs from her allegiance to Christ, by the offer of worldly dignities and honors :

Offert multa, spondet plura,  
*Periturus peritura.*

<sup>2</sup> Thus with what graceful ease his hymn on the martyrdom of St Catherine commences :

Vox sonora nostri chori  
Nostro sonet Conditori,  
Qui disponit omnia;  
Per quem dimicat imbellis,  
Per quem datur et puellis  
De viris victoria :

Per quem plebs Alexandrina  
Fœminæ non fœminina  
Stupuit ingenia;  
Cùm beata Catharina  
Doctos vinceret doctrinâ,  
Ferrum patientiâ.

Florem teneri decoris  
Lectionis et laboris  
Attrivere studia :  
Nam perlegit disciplinas  
Sæculares et divinas  
In adolescentiâ.

Vas electum, vas virtutum,  
Reputavit sicut lutum  
Bona transitoria :  
Et reduxit in contemptum  
Patris opes, et parentum  
Larga patrimonialia.

Vasis oleum includens,  
Virgo sapiens et prudens,  
Sponso pergit obvia;  
Ut adventus ejus horâ  
Præparata sine morâ  
Intret ad convivia.

render him, as far as my judgment goes, the foremost among the sacred Latin poets of the middle ages. He may not have any single poem to vie with the austere grandeur of the *Dies Iræ*, nor yet with the tearful passion of the *Stabat Mater*, although concerning the last point there might well be a question ; but then it must not be forgotten that these stand alone, or wellnigh alone, in the names of their respective authors, while from his ample treasure-house I shall enrich this volume with ten or twelve hymns, all of them of considerable, some of the very highest, merit. It is possible the reader may consider that I have set his merits too high ; yet fresh from the perusal of his hymn on St Stephen, or his longer one on the Resurrection, or his two on Pentecost, he will certainly wonder at the taste and judgment of those his countrymen, who could apportion him no greater praise than the following : A l'égard du mérite de ses pièces, se serait outrer l'admiration que d'adopter sans réserve les éloges qu'on leur a donnés. Elles étaient bonnes pour le temps, et même les meilleures qu'on eût vues jusqu'alors. Mais il a paru depuis des modèles en ce genre, qui les ont fait totalement oublier, et avec lesquelles elles ne peuvent réellement entrer en comparaison. (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. 15, p. 41.)

Over against this I will set another and a fairer estimate of the merit of his hymns, one in which the writer, probably John of Toulouse, (he died in 1659, and was himself Prior of St Victor,) has seized very happily the character at once learned and ornate, the "decorated" style, which is peculiar to so many of them. He says : Valde multas prosas fecit...quæ succinetè et clausulatim progredientes, venusto verborum matrimonio subtiliter decoratæ, sententiarum flosculis mirabiliter picturatæ, schemate congruentissimo componuntur, in quibus et cùm in-

terserat prophetias et figuras, quæ in sensu quem protendunt videbantur obscurissimæ, tamen sic eas adaptat ad suum propositum manifestè, ut magis videantur historiam texere quàm figuram. (Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, v. 6, p. 222.) Rambach calls him, I know not whether very felicitously, "the Schiller of the middle ages."

Several of the hymns of Adam of St Victor had got abroad, and were in use at a very early date, probably during the author's life: but we owe the long and probably complete series of these hymns which we possess, thirty-six in all, to the care of Clichtoveus, a theologian of the first half of the 16th century. Among numerous other works which he composed was the *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum*, Paris, 1515; Basle, 1517, 1519; Paris, 1556; Cologne, 1732, and in an abridged form, Venice, 1555: written for the instructing the parochial clergy in the meaning of the various offices of the Church. The book is scarce, but of absolute necessity for the student of the Christian hymnology. For Adam of St Victor's hymns, besides containing grains of gold to be washed from the sands of a diffuse exposition, it must be considered as a principal source of the text, and as having highest authority therein; since he tells us that he drew it from copies of the hymns which were preserved in the archives of St Victor itself. On occasion of the first of these which he quotes, he thus speaks of the author and his works: Venerandus pater Adam de Sto Victore, religiosam regularisque disciplinæ observantissimam domum Sancti Victoris in Parhisiarum suburbiis constructam, cùm vixit, insigni doctrinæ splendore, et vitæ sanctimoniâ illustravit. Apud quam et hanc prosam et alias quàm plurimas suis in locis annotandas, illi ut auctori ascriptas inveni. Eoque subnixus testimonio, eidem illas inscripsi, et quamque illarum suo loco ipsi, (ut ex cujus emanaverit officinâ,) assignavi.

The Paris edition of 1556, which is much richer in hymns than the earlier, I have only been able to make use of in the Bodleian Library. As has been the case with almost every rare book which I have wanted in the composition of this volume, it is not to be found in the British Museum. That which I have habitually used is the Basle edition of 1517, and, unless otherwise noted, my references are to it.

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## I. DE SS. EVANGELISTIS.

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JUCUNDARE, plebs fidelis,  
 Cujus Pater est in cœlis,  
 Recolens Ezechielis  
 Prophetæ præconia:  
 Est Joannes testis ipsi,  
 Dicens in Apocalypsi,  
 Verè vidi, verè scripsi  
 Vera testimonia.

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I. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, v. 2, p. 218; *Sequentiæ de Tempore*, Argentinæ, 1516, p. 21; Corner, *Promptuarium Devotionis*, Viennæ, 1672, p. 346; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 84.

5. *testis ipsi*] The poet would say, The likeness of St John's vision to Ezekiel's (cf. Rev. iv. 6—8 with Ezek. i. 4—28; x. 9—22) is a testimony of the truth of the earlier. That St John should have beheld the same things is proof that they were no dream of the prophet's imagination, but had their ground in the eternal realities of the heavenly world.

Circa thronum majestatis,  
 Cum spiritibus beatis,  
 Quatuor diversitatis  
 Astant animalia.

---

10

12. *animalia*] The ζῶα of Rev. iv. 6, &c., in the Vulgate rightly *animalia*, is in our version not happily translated "beasts." It plainly should have been, as in Ezekiel, "living creatures," and "beast" should have been reserved for the oft-recurring θηρίον of the 13th and later chapters. The distribution made in this hymn of the four living creatures to the four evangelists is St Jerome's, (*Comm. in Ezek.* c. 1; *Prol. in Matth.* and *Ep.* 50,) is that of St Ambrose, (*Prol. in Luc.*) and, after them, that of Gregory the Great, (*Hom.* 4. in *Ezek.*; *Moral.*, l. 31, c. 47,) and no doubt through the influence of the latter became the prevailing one, though not the exclusive one, (for Bede has another,) during the middle ages. In earlier times there was great fluctuation in the application of the four to the four; and strangely enough even the eagle was not by any universal consent attributed to St John: on the contrary, Irenæus, the first who makes the application at all, gives the lion to him, and the eagle to St Mark, (*Con. Hær.* l. 3, c. 2, § 8,) leaving however the other two unaltered: and so Juvenius in a brief poem on the subject. Athanasius (*Opp.*, v. 2, p. 155) shifts them in yet another fashion. Leaving St Matthew untouched, he gives the calf to St Mark, the lion to St Luke, and the eagle to St John. And Augustine, (*De Cons. Evang.*, l. 1, c. 7,) whom Bede follows, makes yet another transposition. With him the lion belongs to St Matthew, the man to St Mark, the calf and eagle respectively to St Luke and St John. One might be tempted by these variations to dismiss the whole matter as an idle play of the fancy; yet more than this undoubtedly there was, and indeed a deep insight into the nature of the Gospels in the desire which thus manifested itself of claiming for them to be at once four and one, an εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον, (Irenæus,) τετράγωνον, (Origen,) to be the setters forth, in four cardinal aspects, of the inexhaustible fullness of the life of Christ—a matter into which however I may not enter here. Far the fullest and most satisfactory account of the artistic aspect of the subject is to be found in Mrs Jameson's *Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art*, v. 1, pp. 98—110.

Formam primum aquilinam,  
 Et secundum leoninam,  
 Sed humanam et bovinam 15  
 Duo gerunt alia.

Formæ formant figurarum  
 Formas Evangelistarum,  
 Quorum imber doctrinarum  
 Stillat in Ecclesiâ: 20  
 Hi sunt Marcus et Matthæus,  
 Lucas, et quem Zebedæus  
 Pater tibi inisit, Deus,  
 Dum laxaret retia.

Formam viri dant Matthæo, 25  
 Quia scripsit sic de Deo,  
 Sicut descendit ab eo,  
 Quem plasmavit, homine.  
 Lucas bos est in figurâ,  
 Ut præmonstrat in Scripturâ, 30  
 Hostiarum tangens jura  
 Legis sub velamine.

Marcus, leo per desertum  
 Claimans, rugit in apertum,  
 Iter fiat Deo certum, 35  
 Mundum cor à crimine.  
 Sed Joannes, alâ binâ

---

37. *alâ binâ*] "The double wing of love" is the love of God, and of our neighbour. Thus H. de S. Victore (*Serm.* 97): *Columba sancta Ecclesia est: quæ duas alas habet per dilectionem Dei et proximi, à dextris dilectionem Dei, à sinistris dilectionem proximi.*

Caritatis, aquilinâ  
 Formâ fertur in divina  
 Puriori lumine. 40

Quatuor describunt isti  
 Quadriformes actus Christi,  
 Et figurant, ut audîsti,  
 Quisque suâ formulâ.  
 Natus homo declaratur, 45  
 Vitulus sacrificatur,  
 Leo mortem deprædatur,  
 Et ascendit aquila.

Ecce forma bestialis,  
 Quam scriptura prophetalis 50  
 Notat; sed materialis  
 Hæc est impositio.  
 Currunt rotis, volant alis;  
 Inest sensus spiritalis;  
 Rota gressus est æqualis, 55  
 Ala contemplatio.

41, 42. Clichtoveus : Scilicet Matthæus Nativitatem, Lucas Passionem, Marcus Resurrectionem, et Johannes Ascensionem Christi.

53—56. *Wheels run on earth, wings soar to heaven.* In these symbolic representations of the Evangelists we hear of both; for they now tell of the *earthly* life of the Saviour (*currunt rotis*); they now ascend to the contemplation of the *heavenly* world (*volant alis*). The *gressus æqualis* is the mutual consent of the four; they keep step. But the allusions to the medieval typology in this and the three following hymns on holy Scripture, are so infinite and complex, that I should exhaust my room long before I had exhausted them. I must be content but to touch on a few, at the same time observing that to far the most, the study of Gregory the



Paradisus his rigatur,  
 Viret, floret, fœcundatur,  
 His abundat, his lætatur  
 Quatuor fluminibus :

60

Great's homilies on Ezekiel (*Opp.*, v. 1, p. 1183, sqq. Bened. ed.) would give any reader, who cared to follow up the matter, the key. I must also ask of my reader to use such notes as I have supplied to one of these hymns, in illustration not merely of itself but also of the others, to which they will often serve, as well.

57—60. Irenæus, in his famous passage about the Evangelists, (*Con. Har.*, l. 3, c. 11, § 8,) which is the foundation of so much that has followed in the same line, does not allude to the four streams of Paradise, as prefiguring the four Evangelists, near as such an application seems to have lain to him, and likening as he does the four Gospels to the four principal winds, πανταχόθεν πνέοντας τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ ἀναζωπυροῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Nor does St Ambrose, at least in his treatise *De Paradiso*, c. 3, however he may find a mystical meaning in the four streams, find this one. We meet it in Jerome (*Ep. ad Euseb.*) : Quemadmodum unus fluvius erat Paradisi, qui in quatuor capita dividitur; ita unica Christi evangelica doctrina per quatuor ministros ad irrigandum et fœcundandum ecclesiæ hortum est distributa. Cf. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. 13, c. 21, and Durandus, *Rational.*, l. 7, c. 46. The image has past on into the region of Christian art, (Aringhi, v. 1, pp. 181, 183, 195.) where we often find in the early mosaics a hill surmounted with a cross, or sometimes with a lamb holding a cross upon its summit, and four streams flowing out in different directions from its base,—this, as the symbol of Christ and his four Evangelists;—in the words of Paulinus of Nola :

Petram superstat Ipse, petra ecclesiæ,  
 De quâ sonori quatuor fontes meant,  
 Evangelistæ, viva Christi flumina :

or as we may express the thought in an English quatrain :

As those four streams that had in Eden birth,  
 And did the whole world water, four ways going,—  
 With spiritual freshness fill our thirsty earth  
 Four streams of grace from one cleft mountain flowing.

Fons est Christus, hi sunt rivi,  
 Fons est altus, hi proclivi,  
 Ut saporem fontis vivi  
 Ministrent fidelibus.

Horum rivo debriatis 65  
 Sitis crescat caritatis,  
 Ut de fonte pietatis  
 Satiemur plenius.

Horum trahat nos doctrina  
 Vitiorum de sentinâ, 70  
 Sicque ducat ad divina  
 Ab imo superius.

65. *debriatis*] In some copies *ebrietatis*; but thus, plainly in ignorance of there being such a word as *debrio*. It is a medieval form of *inebrio*; (see Du Cange, s. v.) I find it as early as Gregory the Great. (*Hom. 6. in Ezek.*)

## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### II. DE SS. EVANGELISTIS.

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PSALLAT chorus corde mundo,  
Hos attollat, per quos mundo  
Sonant Evangelia ;  
Voce quorum salus fluxit,  
Nox recessit, et illuxit  
Sol illustrans omnia.

5

Curam agens sui gregis  
Pastor bonus, auctor legis,  
Quatuor instituit,  
Quadri orbis ad medelam ;  
Formam juris et cautelam  
Per quos scribi voluit.

10

Circa thema generale  
Habet quisque speciale

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II. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, v. 2, p. 221 ; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 88.

9, 10. Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.*, l. 1, c. 2) : Quatuor Evangelistæ,...ob hoc fortasse quatuor, quoniam quatuor sunt partes orbis terræ, per cujus universitatem Christi Ecclesiam dilatari ipso sui numeri sacramento quodammodò declararunt.

11. *cautelam*] A juristic word. Ducange, with no allusion to this passage, yet gives its perfect explanation : *Cautelæ* sunt instrumenta et Chartæ, quibus privilegia, jura, possessiones, etc. asseruntur ; hinc *cautelæ* dicta, quod sint veluti *cautio* (ἀσφάλισμα) res illas ita se habere.

Stili privilegium ; 15  
 Quod præsignat in prophetâ  
 Formâ pictus sub discretâ  
 Vultus animalium.

Supra cœlos dum conscendit,  
 Summi Patris comprehendit 20  
 Natum ante secula ;  
 Pellens nubem nostræ molis,  
 Intuetur jubar solis  
 Joannes in aquilâ.

Est leonis rugientis 25  
 Marco vultus, resurgentis  
 Quo claret potentia :  
 Voce Patris excitatus  
 Surgit Christus, laureatus  
 Immortali gloriâ. 30

Os humanum est Matthæi,  
 In humanâ formâ Dei  
 Dictantis prosapiam :  
 Cujus genus sic contextit,  
 Quod à stirpe David exit 35  
 Per carnis materiam.

---

25. *rugientis*] The middle-age legend, that the lion's whelps were born dead, and first roused to life on the third day by the roar of their sire, was often alluded to, in connexion with, and as a natural type of, the resurrection : so is it here. The subject will recur in a note on Adam of St Victor's Resurrection hymn, *Zyma vetus expurgetur*, later in this volume.

Ritus bovis Lucæ datur,  
 In quâ formâ figuratur  
 Nova Christus hostia :  
 Arâ crucis mansuëtus  
 Hic mactatur, sicque vetus  
 Transit observantia.

40

Paradisi hæc fluentia  
 Nova fluunt sacramenta,  
 Quæ descendunt cœlitus.  
 His quadrigis deportatur

45

37. *Ritus*] Daniel reads *rictus*, without however saying from whence he got it. However tempting at first sight, I have not admitted it into the text. No edition of Clichtoveus that I have been able to examine, so reads ; and I have, moreover, come back to believe *ritus* the true reading.

40. *Arâ crucis*] Adam of St Victor has elsewhere a beautiful stanza on the cross *as the altar* on which Christ, the Lamb, was sacrificed :

Oh, quàm felix, quàm præclara  
 Fuit hæc salutis Ara,  
 Rubens Agni sanguine ;  
 Agni sine maculâ,  
 Qui mundavit sæcula  
 Ab antiquo crimine !

The exquisite poem on the cross, (Clichtoveus, p. 196,) from which this stanza is drawn, I have determined, after many hesitations, to omit from this volume. Though entirely capable, as it seems to me, of a fair interpretation throughout, and as meaning no more than *we* mean when we speak of the "cross of Christ," yet I feel that it is not so clearly lifted above every suspicion, as I would fain have all which here finds place.

44. *fluunt*] Clichtoveus, Paris, 1556, reads *pluunt*, but the earlier editions, published in his life-time, as in the text. 1

46. *His quadrigis*] Clichtoveus sees here, but wrongly as I think, an allusion to Zech. vi. : Zacharias vidisse ipse dicit in spiritu quatuor quadrigas egredientes de medio duorum montium, et

Mundo Deus, sublimatur  
Istis arca vectibus.

Non est domus ruitura,  
Hâc subnixa quadraturâ,

50

equos in eis varios, quibus jussum est ut totam terram perambulant : Hæ autem quadrigæ figura sunt SS. quatuor Evangelistarum, quibus Dei cognitio per universum orbem defertur et promulgatur. But I can find but one, and that the very slightest, trace of such an application of Zechariah's vision of the four chariots : St Jerome (in loc.) giving a whole series of mystical interpretations of the passage, yet does not give this ; while he has another passage which abundantly illustrates the words before us, and shews that the poet is still drawing his imagery from that grand vision of Ezekiel. He says (*Ep.* 50) : Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Johannes, *quadriga Domini* et verum Cherubim, per totum corpus oculati sunt, scintillæ emicant, discurrunt fulgura, pedes habent rectos et in sublime tendentes, terga pennata et ubique volitantia. Tenent se mutuò, sibique perplexi sunt, et quasi rota in rotâ volvuntur, et pergunt quoquumque eos flatus S. Spiritûs perduxerit. It is needless to observe that every word here is an allusion to Ezekiel i. Cf. Augustine, *De Cons. Evang.*, l. 1, c. 7 ; and Durandus, *Rationale*, l. 7, c. 46, who however suggests quite another allusion, namely to Cant. v. 11.

48. *vectibus*] The allusion is to Exod. xxv. 13—15. The *vectes*, which were of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, were the staves by which the ark was lifted from the ground : they passed through the four golden rings at the four corners of the ark ; and though being only in fact two pieces of wood, would have themselves also four extremities. Sometimes these, but oftener the four golden rings through which they pass, are made symbolic of the four Evangelists. Thus H. de S. Victore : Quatuor annuli, qui arcæ inhærent, quatuor sunt Evangeliorum libri. Clichtoveus unites both : Per hos autem quatuor circulos et vectes illis insertos, quibus deferebatur arca, intelliguntur Evangelistæ, quorum narratione Christus, arca mystica et spiritualis, in omnem mundi partem, quantum ad sui notitiam, est delatus.

50. *quadraturâ*] The allusion is to Rev. xxi. 16. The house

Hæc est domus Domini :  
 Gloriemur in hâc domo,  
 Quâ beatè vivit homo  
 Deo junctus Homini.

---

stands firm which stands on a foursquare foundation : in this shape is the greatest strength and stability of all. See the symbolic use of the λίθος τετράγωνος in the *Tabula* of Cebes, c. 18. Even so the fourfold history of the Lord's life, the εὐαγγέλιον τετράγωνον is the strong foundation, not to be shaken, on which the faith of the Church reposes. Thus Durandus (*Rational.*, 1.7, c. 46): Sicut enim inter cæteras formas quadratum, sic inter cæteras doctrinas Evangelium solidius et stabilius perseverat; nam illud undique stat, et idèò legitur (Apocal. c. 21) quod civitas in quadro posita est.

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### III. DE S. JOANNE EVANGELISTA.

---

VERBUM Dei, Deo natum,  
Quod nec factum, nec creatum,  
Venit de cœlestibus,  
Hoc vidit, hoc attrectavit,  
Hoc de cœlo reseravit 5  
Joannes hominibus.

Inter illos primitivos  
Veros veri fontis rivos  
Joannes exiliit;  
Toti mundo propinare 10  
Nectar illud salutare,  
Quod de throno prodiit.

Cœlum transit, veri rotam  
Solis vidit, ibi totam

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III. *Sequentiæ de Tempore*, Argentinæ, 1516, p. 2; Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, Paris, 1556, p. 213; (not in the earlier editions;) Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, Altona u. Leipzig, 1817, p. 340; Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.*, v. 2, p. 166.—This sublime hymn, although not the composition of Adam of St Victor, evidently proceeds from one formed in his school, and on his model, and is altogether worthy of him. Daniel ascribes it to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but has nothing distinct to say about its authorship.

4. Cf. 1 Joh. i. 1.

12. *de throno*] Cf. Rev. xxii. 1.

13. *Cœlum transit*] Ambrose (*Prol. in Exp. in Luc.*, c. 3):  
Nemo enim, audeo dicere, tantâ sublimitate sapientiæ majestatem  
Dei vidit, et nobis proprio sermone reseravit. Transcendit nubes,

Mentis figens aciem. 15  
 Speculator spiritualis  
 Quasi Seraphim sub alis  
 Dei vidit faciem.

Audiit in gyro sedis  
 Quid psallant cum citharædis 20

transcendit virtutes cœlorum, transcendit angelos, et *Verbum* in principio reperit, et *Verbum* apud Deum vidit.

15. *figens aciem*] Augustine (*In Joh.*, Tract. 36): Aquila ipse est Johannes, sublimium prædicator, et lucis internæ atque æternæ fixis oculis contemplator. Dicuntur enim et pulli aquilarum à parentibus sic probari, patris scilicet ungue suspendi, et radiis solis opponi; qui firmè contemplatus fuerit, filius agnoscitur; si acie palpitaverit, tanquam adulterinus ab ungue dimittitur.

17, 18. These verses can only be fully understood by reference to Isai. vi. 2. (Vulg.) where "with twain he covered his face," i. e. the seraphim with two wings covered his (own) face, (*faciem suam*,) is given thus: Duabus velabant faciem *ejus*, i. e. Domini: with two wings they covered the face of the Lord. And this was referred to the obscure vision of God vouchsafed under the Old Covenant, so that even a prophet did but see *ἐκ' ἐσόπτρου, ἐν ἀνύματι*: the wings of the seraphim being as a veil between God and him. Thus H. de S. Victore (*De Arcâ Mor.*, l. 1, c. 3): Quod autem in Esaiâ scriptum est, Velabant faciem *ejus*, eo modo intelligi debet, quo dictum est ad Moysem: Non poteris videre faciem meam: non enim videbit me homo, et vivet. But St John, the poet would say, looking beneath these covering wings (*seraphim sub alis*) saw the unveiled glory of God.—A passage in St Bernard, (*Opp.*, v. 1, p. 955, Bened. ed.) shews that even in the middle ages they were not unaware that *suam* would have been the preferable translation.

19—21. Cf. Rev. iv. 4; xiv. 2.—22—24.] By the "money of our earthly city" we must understand the mind of man. Man is God's money, having the image and superscription of the great King. (Gen. i. 27; Matt. xxii. 21; Luke xv. 8.) On this money

Quater seni proceres :

De sigillo Trinitatis

Nostræ nummo civitatis

Impressit characteres.

Volat avis sine metâ

25

Quo nec vates nec propheta

Evolavit altius :

Tam implenda, quàm impleta,

Nunquam vidit tot secreta

Purus homo purius.

30

Sponsus rubrâ veste tectus,

Visus sed non intellectus,

Redit ad palatium :

Aquilam Ezechielis

Sponsæ misit, quæ de cœlis

35

Referret mysterium.

Dic, dilecte, de Dilecto,

Qualis adsit, et de lecto

St John stamped anew clear and distinct impressions (*characteres*) of the Holy Trinity, bringing down from heaven as he did, and imparting to us, those transcendent truths which he himself had beholden there.

25—30. Olshausen has taken this stanza, than which sacred Latin poetry scarcely possesses, if indeed it possess, a grander, as the motto of his commentary on St John. The *implenda* are the Apocalypse, the *impleta* the Gospel.

31—33. Cf. Isai. lxiii. 1, 2.—34, 35. Cf. Ezek. i. 10.

38, 39. So Clichtoveus. Daniel, however, (*Thes. Hymn.*, v. 2, p. 168,) reads :

Qualis sit, et ex dilecto

Sponsus sponsæ nuncia :

Sponsi sponsæ nuncia :

Dic quis cibus angelorum,

40

Quæ sint festa superiorum

De Sponsi præsentia.

and affirms that he has abundant authority for so doing. But, not to say that, so read, the lines yield no tolerable sense, the reading violates the laws of rhyme which the Latin medieval poets observe. They allow themselves, it is true, greater liberties than we do : with us a syllable may not rhyme with itself, even when in the second line it belongs to an entirely different word from that to which it belonged in the first. Thus *vine* and *divine* are faulty as rhymes, though many—Spenser in particular—are frequent offenders in this regard. But while the Latin rhyming poets, like the French, permit rhymes such as these, so that a word may even rhyme with itself, if different senses be attached to it, as *mundus* the world, with *mundus* clean ; yet they would not rhyme *mundus* to itself, the word in both places signifying the world. And rightly ; since such rhymes are indeed no rhymes, contradicting as they do the fundamental idea of rhyme, which is that of likeness *with difference*—difference which should preferably be in the sound, since that is the region in which rhyme moves ; but if not there, at least in the sense. It is true there are exceptions among the Latin rhymers to this rule, but they are so exceedingly rare, and under circumstances which so entirely explain them, (circumstances which do not here occur,) that there is the strongest *à priori* unlikelihood that a reading is the right one, which would make *dilecto* rhyme to itself. Moreover the mystics often spoke, and had much to say, of the *lectus Domini*, the deep rest and joy of perfected souls in innermost communion with their Lord. It is almost needless to say they got the image from the Canticles.

40. Allusion to the Incarnation was often found in the words of the Psalmist, (lxxviii. 25), “Man did eat angels’ food.” The Eternal Word was from the beginning the food of angels, but in the Incarnation became also the food of men. Thus Augustine (*In Ep. Joh.*, Tract. 1.) : *Erat enim [Vita] ab initio ; sed non erat manifestata hominibus ; manifestata autem erat angelis videntibus, et tanquam pane suo cibantibus. Sed quid ait Scriptura ? Panem angelorum manducavit homo. Ergo manifestata*

Veri panem intellectûs,  
 Cœnam Christi super pectus  
 Christi sumptam resera : 45  
 Ut cantemus de Patrono,  
 Coram Agno, coram throno,  
 Laudes super æthera.

---

est ipsa Vita in carne. And Damiani blends in a fine stanza this thought and the other of St John as the eagle :

En illa felix aquila  
 Ad escam volat avida,  
 Quæ cœli cives vegetat,  
 Et nos in viâ recreat.

44, 45. That it was from his greater nearness to that bosom that he drew the deeper depths of his wisdom, this has been often urged. Thus, to rescue a few lines from a poem otherwise but of slighter merit :

Hic, cujus alæ virtutum alæ,  
 Horâ cœnæ hausit plenè  
 Mæ fontem gratiæ ;  
 Ales alis spiritalis  
 Præminens scientiæ,  
 Figens visum non elisum  
 In me Solem gloriæ.

46. *Patrono*] Led away by the word *patronus*, Clichtoveus will have it, that the end to which the enraptured poet aspires is, that he may sing the praises of St John before the throne and the Lamb ! A reference to Rev. v. 9 should have taught him better. It is the "new song" there spoken of to the Lamb himself, at once the *Agnus* and *Patronus*, in which he desires to take part.

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## IV. DE LAUDIBUS S. SCRIPTURÆ.

STRINGERE pauca libet bona carminis hujus, et  
 ipsum

Laude vel exili magnificare libet.

Hic ea triticea est pannisque allata farina

Hebræo populo de Pharaonis humo.

Hic illud missum de cœlo manna saporum,

Omnem gustanti qui sapit ore cibum:

Ut brevius curram per singula; præminet auro

In pretio; soli luce; sapore favo.

Hic facit humano generi quod sol facit orbi;

Sol terræ lucet; luce cor ipse replet.

Fons est hortorum, puteus vel abyssus aquarum,

Quarum potus alit pectora, corda rigat.

---

IV. Leyser, *Hist. Poett. Med. Ævi*, p. 748. — It is the *Aurora*, a metrical version of the larger part of Holy Scripture, which, as Leyser informs us, the anonymous author of this poem has immediately in his eye. This is the explanation of the *carminis* in the first line, which would not otherwise be intelligible. He passes, however, at once from it to the praise of Scripture itself.

3, 4. Cf. Exod. xii. 34.

5, 6. The Jewish legend, that the manna tasted to every man like that which he liked the best, is well known. It is alluded to Wisd. xvi. 21. The poet would say, that even such heavenly manna, meeting every man's desires, was Scripture. Cf. Gregory the Great (*Moral.*, l. 31, c. 15): *Manna quippe est verbum Dei, et quidquid bene voluntas suscipientis appetit, hoc profectò in ore comedentis sapit.*

11. The words of Cant. iv. 15 (Vulg.): *Fons hortorum; puteus aquarum viventium, quæ fluunt impetu de Libano*; were applied to Holy Scripture, which was this fountain for its abundance.

Pascua coelestis, cellaria regia, coelum

Tot signis fulgens quot sacramenta tegens.

Hic calamus Scribæ subito scribentis; hic arcus 15

Qui curativo vulnere corda ferit.

Hic rota sive rotæ, quarum ut mare visio mira,

In medioque rotæ fertur inesse rota.

this well for its depth. Thus a mystical exposition of the Canticles (*Bernardi Opp.*, v. 2, p. 125): Accipiamus in fonte sufficientiam doctrinæ, in puteo secretum: in illo abundantiam, in isto alta mysteria.

13. *cellaria regia*] Cf. Cant. i. 3 (Vulg.): Introduxit me rex in cellaria sua. For the sense in which Scripture was thus regarded as the king's cellar, I must refer to St Bernard, *In Cant.* Serm. 23.

15. The old exposition of Ps. xlv. 2, namely, that the Holy Spirit was "the ready writer," and that the Psalmist would say his tongue did but utter, and his hand write down, that which was freely suggested and supplied by that Spirit, must explain this line. The poet transfers to all Scripture what had been spoken of a single Psalm.—*arcus*] Gregory the Great, speaking of the different uses of the word "bow" in Scripture, observes (*Moral.*, l. 19, c. 30): Aliquando autem per arcum etiam Sacra Scriptura signatur. Ipsa quippe arcus est Ecclesiæ, ipsa arcus est Domini, de qua ad corda hominum, sicut ferientes sagittæ, sic terrentes sententiæ veniunt.

17. *Hic rota sive rotæ*] These words are to be explained from Ezek. i. 15, 16. At ver. 15, the prophet sees "*one wheel*;" Apparuit *rota una*, (Vulg.) while immediately in the next verse it is said, Et aspectus *rotarum* quasi visio maris. The wheel or wheels is Holy Scripture; this, and the wheel within wheel, of which the same verse presently speaks, (quasi sit rota in medio rotæ,) is the New Testament; which is contained and shut up in the Old. Gregory the Great (*Hom. 6 in Ezek.*): Rota ergo in medio rotæ est; quia inest Testamento Veteri Testamentum Novum. Quod Testamentum Vetus promisit, hoc Novum exhibuit; et quod illud occultè annunciat, hoc istud exhibitum apertè clamat. Prophetia ergo Testamenti Novi, Testamentum Vetus est; et expositio Tes-



Quatuor his facies, species est una : levantur,  
 Stant, vel eunt, prout has Spiritus intrò regit. 20  
 Hic liber in dextrâ regnantis scriptus et intus  
 Et foris ; intus habens mystica, plana foris.  
 Hic Mosi facies, quæ velo tecta, videri  
 Non valet ; at Christi luce resecta patet.  
 Per Mosén typico, per Christum sanguine vero 25  
 Hic liber aspersus, remque typumque gerit.  
 Lex nova, res ; antiqua, typus : diffusior illa,  
 Hæc brevior : reteggit ista, quod illa tegit.  
 Dumque rei testis typus exstat, abyssus abyssum  
 Invocat. Utraque lex nomen abyssus habet. 30

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tamenti Veteris, Testamentum Novum. — *Quarum ut mare visio mira*] Et aspectus rotarum et opus earum, quasi visio maris ; (Ezek. i. 16, Vulg.) on which words Gregory the Great (*Ibid.*) Rectè sacra eloquia visioni maris similia narrantur, quia in eis magna sunt volumina sententiarum, cumuli sensuum. These words have nothing answering to them in our text, or in the Hebrew.

19. Gregory the Great (*Ibid.*) : Rota quatuor facies habere describitur, (Ezek. i. 15,) quia Scriptura Sacra per utraque Testamenta in quatuor partibus est distincta. Vetus enim Testamentum in Lege et Prophetis, Novum vero in Evangeliiis atque Apostolorum Actibus et Dictis. Una similitudo ipsarum est quatuor, (Ezek. i. 16,) quia divina eloquia, etsi temporibus distincta, sunt tamen sensibus unita.

21, 22. *intus et foris*] Richard of St Victor (*In Apoc.*, v. 1) : Liber qui in dextrâ Dei tenetur, est Sacra Scriptura. Intus scriptus est per spiritualem intelligentiam, foris per literam. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Hom. 9 in Ezek.* §. 30.

28. *reteggit*] The lengthening of the last syllable of *reteggit* here, by the force of the arsis and on the strength of the two *moræ* which must here be made, is not without parallels, as is well known, even among the best writers of elegiac verse. It was another sign of the way in which accent was penetrating into the domain of quantity, that the later Latin poets, and most of all the mediæval,

Sic brevitæ libri geminæ clauduntur abyssi;  
 Utraque magna nimis, nullus utramque capit.  
 Jugiter hic legem meditari, inquirere, nosse,  
 Quid nisi cœlesti luce ciboque frui?  
 Nil homini melius, quàm si divina legendo 35  
 Figat ibi vitam, quo sibi vita venit.  
 Felix qui sitit hæc, et eodem fonte saporem  
 Attrahit, ut vitam condiat inde suam.  
 Nam nisi sic sapiat, sapientem non puto, quando  
 Nil sibi, quod didicit codice, corde sapit. 40  
 Qui studet his, vel propter opes vel propter honores,  
 Non sapit; it prorsus à sapiente procul.  
 Non nisi propter se vult se sapientia quæri;  
 Qui colit hanc, audi, quæ metit inde bona.  
 Purior affectus, sensus fit clarior, et mens 45  
 Liberior mundo, carneque pressa minus.  
 Lectio jugis alit virtutes, lucida reddit  
 Intima, declinat noxia, vana fugat.

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assumed the entirest liberty of making long a short syllable—even a short vowel—at this place, whenever it was convenient to them. They used the same freedom in regard of the hexameter, where, when the cæsura occurred immediately after the arsis in the third foot, the syllable on which the pause thus fell, was always and on this ground alone considered long. The reader will find examples of both kinds in this volume, and should not regard them as neglects or oversights, but as results of a system.

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## ST AMBROSE.

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ST AMBROSE, born about 340, and probably at Treves, was intended by his father, who was prefect of Gaul, for a secular career. He practised as an advocate at Milan; and was already far advanced on the way to the highest honours and offices of the state, having been appointed about 370 the consular prefect of Liguria, when it became plain that for him other and more lasting honours were in store. For having won the affections alike of Catholics and Arians by the mildness and justice of his rule, on the death of Auxentius, bishop of Milan, A.D. 374, he was chosen as by a sudden inspiration, and under circumstances which are too well known to need being repeated, his successor, being as yet only a layman and unbaptized. He died in 397.

The hymns which go under the name of Ambrosian are very numerous, yet do not all appertain to him; the name having been freely given to as many as were formed after the model and pattern of those which he composed, and among these to not a few which were in every way unworthy of him. The Benedictine editors do not admit more than twelve, as with any certainty of his composition; and even these, some in later times have affirmed to be "ascribed to him upon doubtful authority;" so the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*; although no evidence can well be stronger than that which in regard of some of them we possess<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This evidence is well brought together by Cardinal Thomasius in a preliminary discourse, *Ad Lectorem* (unpaged), prefixed to the

After being accustomed to the softer and richer strains of the later Christian poets, to the more ornamented style of a Bernard or an Adam of St Victor,—to the passionate sinking of himself in the great objects which he contemplates, that marks the first of these great poets of the Cross—to the melodies long drawn out and the abundant theological lore of the second,—it is some little while before one returns with a hearty consent and liking to the almost austere simplicity which characterises the hymns of St Ambrose. It is felt as though there were a certain coldness in them, an *aloofness* of the author from his subject, a refusal to blend and fuse himself with it. The absence too of rhyme, for which the almost uniform use of a metre, very far from the richest among the Latin lyric forms, and one with singularly few resources for producing variety of pause or cadence, seems a very insufficient compensation, adds to this feeling of disappointment. The ear and the heart seem alike to be without their due satisfaction.

Only after a while does one learn to feel the grandeur of this unadorned metre, and the profound, though it may have been more instinctive than conscious, wisdom of the poet in choosing it; or to appreciate that noble confidence in the surpassing interest of his theme, which has rendered him indifferent to any but its simplest setting forth. It is as though, building an altar to the living God, he would

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*Hymnarium*, in the second volume of his Works. (*J. M. Thomasii, S. R. E., Cardinalis, Opera Omnia*, Romæ, 1747, v. 2, p. 351—434.) This book which is of sufficiently rare occurrence in England, is yet important in fixing the text, especially of the earlier hymns. The Cardinal's position gave him access to the oldest Vatican and other Italian MSS., of all which he has made diligent and careful use. *Ex illo libro*, says Daniel, *tanquam fonte primario hauriendum est*. For an estimate of St Ambrose's merits in promoting the new Christian psalmody, see Rambach's *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, v. 1, p. 58—60.

observe the Levitical precept, and rear it of unhewn stones, upon which no tool had been lifted. The great objects of faith in their simplest expression are felt by him so sufficient to stir all the deepest affections of the heart, that any attempt to dress them up, to array them in moving language, were merely superfluous. The passion is there, but it is latent and repressed, a fire burning inwardly, the glow of an austere enthusiasm, which reveals itself indeed, but not to every careless beholder. Nor do we presently fail to observe how truly these poems belonged to their time and to the circumstances under which they were produced—how suitably the faith which was in actual conflict with, and was just triumphing over, the powers of this world, found its utterance in hymns such as these, wherein is no softness, perhaps little tenderness; but a rock-like firmness, the old Roman stoicism transmuted and glorified into that nobler Christian courage, which encountered and at length overcame the world.

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## V. DE ADVENTU DOMINI.

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VENI, Redemptor gentium,  
 Ostende partum Virginis;  
 Miretur omne sæculum:  
 Talis decet partus Deum.

Non ex virili semine, 5  
 Sed mystico Spiramine,  
 Verbum Dei factum est caro,  
 Fructusque ventris floruit.

Alvus tumescit Virginis,  
 Claustum pudoris permanet, 10  
 Vexilla virtutum micant,  
 Versatur in templo Deus.

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V. S. *Ambrosii Opp.*, Paris, 1836, v. 4, p. 201; *Card. Thomasii Opp.*, Romæ, 1747, v. 2, p. 351.—The German hymn-book is indebted to this immortal hymn of St Ambrose for one of its choicest treasures—I mean John Frank's Advent hymn, commencing:

Komm, Heidenheiland, Lösegeld,  
 Komm, schönste Sonne dieser Welt,  
 Lass abwärts flammen deinen Schein,  
 Denn so will Gott geboren sein.

It is not a translation, but a free recomposition of the original, beside which it is wellnigh worthy to stand, even though we may not count it, as Bunsen does, noch tiefer und lieblicher als das Lateinische.

Procedit e thalamo suo,  
 Pudoris aulâ regiâ,  
 Geminæ Gigas substantiæ,  
 Alacris ut currat viam.

15

13. This line is commonly read, and appears in the Bened. edition, *Procedens de thalamo suo*, but I have not been able to admit it in that form into the text; and this because there is not a single other instance in the genuine hymns of St Ambrose, of a line beginning with two spondees; invariably the second foot is an iambic. The brief *Orabo mente Dominum*, is not to be brought into account, as it evidently in no part seeks to conform itself to the metre of the other hymns; and the *Talis partus decet Deum*, which Daniel prints as the fourth line of this present hymn, is a transposition of words which he ought not to have let pass, and a reading not justified by the best editions. The present line has good MS. authority for it in the shape in which it appears above, and is so read by Thomasius.

15. *gigas*] The "giants" of Gen. vi. 4, were, according to the interpretation of the early Church, *geminæ substantiæ*; the "sons of God" from whom they were born (ver. 2) being understood as Angels, who formed unions with the "daughters of men." This passage so understood must be brought into connexion with Ps. xviii. 6, (Vulg.) xix. 5, (E. V.) before we can enter into the full meaning of this line. In the "double substance" of the giants, thus born of earth and of heaven, Ambrose sees a resemblance not so remote but that he may use it, to him who in like manner was of twofold nature, divine and human. Perhaps he would hardly have dared trace an analogy, had he not been emboldened thereto by the words of the Psalmist, referred to above, in which he saw an undoubted reference to the earthly course of the Lord. In a passage from his treatise *De Incarn. Dom.*, c. 5, he unfolds his meaning at full: *Quem [Christum] quasi gigantem Sanctus David propheta describit, eo quod biformis geminæque naturæ unus sit consors divinitatis et corporis: qui tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo exsultavit tanquam gigas ad currendam viam. Sponsus animæ secundum Verbum: gigas terræ, quia usus nostri*



Egressus ejus à Patre,  
 Regressus ejus ad Patrem,  
 Excursus usque ad inferos,  
 Recursus ad sedem Dei.

20

Æqualis æterno Patri  
 Carnis stropheo accingere,  
 Infirma nostri corporis  
 Virtute firmans perpeti.

officia percurrrens, cùm Deus semper esset æternus, Incarnationis sacramenta suscepit. Thus too in another hymn he sings :

Processit aulâ Virginis  
 Suæ Gigas Ecclesiæ.

17—20. He is still drawing his imagery from the 18th Psalm, (19th, E. V.) It is written there of the sun : A summo cœlo egressio ejus : et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus. (Vulg.) This he finds true of, and adapts to, him, who said concerning himself : Exivi à Patre, et veni in mundum : iterum relinquo mundum et vado ad Patrem ; (John xvi. 28 ; ) and whose humanity was acquainted with the deepest depths of humiliation, and then afterwards with the highest heights of glory and honour.

22. *stropheo*] This reading, though supported by inferior MS. authority, I must yet think preferable to the more commonly received *Carnis tropæo accingere*. Had we the words *carnis tropæum* alone, they might be just capable of explanation and justification, such as that which Clichtoveus gives : Christus per carnem assumptam debellato diabolo victor evasit, ipsamque glorificatam carnem demum cœlo intulit. But *accingi tropæo* it seems impossible to believe that St Ambrose wrote, especially as the presence of the word is so easily explained on the supposition that as the more familiar word it displaced the rarer *stropheum*—this *strophium* or *stropheum* being a girdle or belt worn about the loins. (στρόφιον dimin. of στρόφος, from στρέφω.) It needs not to observe how full are the Latin hymns, and the earliest the fullest, of Greek words : nor has the objection of some, that it would be *strophium* and not *strophæum*, any force, as the Latin Christian poets

Præsepe jam fulget tuum, 25  
 Lumenque nox spirat novum,  
 Quod nulla nox interpolet,  
 Fideque jugi luceat.

---

continually violate the quantity of the Greek words which they use. It needs but to refer to such well-known examples as *paraclytus*, (*παράκλητος*,) and *paraclysis*, (*παράκλησις*.) See Daniel, v. 1, p. 14.

25. *fulget*] Thus in the *Evangel. Infant.*, c. 3, some enter the cave where the new-born child is laid,—et ecce repleta erat illa luminibus, lucernarum et candelarum fulgoribus excedentibus, et solari luce majoribus.

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## PISTOR.

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THE only notice which I have of the probable author of the following hymn is drawn from Clichtoveus, p. 198: Auctor ejus fuisse traditur eximius pater Henricus Pistor, doctor theologus Parisiensis, et in religiosâ domo Sti Victoris juxta Parisios monasticam vitam professus, qui etiam Concilio Constantinensi [1414—1418] interfuit, eâque tempestate, doctrinâ et virtute mirificè floruit. Referring to the histories of the Council of Constance, I can find no notice of his having taken any prominent share in its deliberations. Yet the internal evidence of the poem itself, as far as it reaches, is all in favour of this statement. That the writer was an accomplished theologian is plain; and no less so that he was trained in the school and formed upon the model of Adam of St Victor, whom he resembles, and not in his excellencies alone.

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## VI. DE S. JOHANNE BAPTISTA.

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PRÆCURSORIS et Baptistæ  
Diem istum chorus iste  
Veneretur laudibus.

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VI. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 198; Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 364; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 169.

Vero die jam diescat, Ut in nostris elucescat Vernus dies mentibus.	5
Præcursore nondum nato, Nondum partu reserato, Reserantur mystica. Nostro sole tunc exclusus, Verioris est perfusus Solis luce typicâ.	10
Prius novit diem verum, Quàm nostrorum sit dierum Usus beneficio.	15
Hic renascens nondum natus Nondum nascens est renatus Cœlesti mysterio.	
Clausa pandit, ventre clausus; Gestu plaudens, fit applausus Messiæ præsentiae. Linguae gestus obsequuntur; Dum pro linguâ sic loquuntur, Serviunt infantiae.	20
Tori fructus matri dantur, Et jam matris excusantur Sterilis opprobria. Ortus tanti præcursoris Multos terret, sed terroris Comes est lætitia.	25    30

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29. *terret*] Daniel has here *tenet*. This is one of the many and often serious misprints with which his book, in many respects so carefully and conscientiously prepared, too much abounds.

Se à mundo servans mundum,  
 Mundè vivit intra mundum  
 In ætate tenerâ.  
 Ne formentur à convictu  
 Mores, loco, veste, victu 35  
 Mundi fugit prospera.

Quem dum replet lux superna,  
 Veræ lucis fit lucerna,  
 Veri solis lucifer;  
 Novus præco novæ legis, 40  
 Immo novus novi regis  
 Pugnaturi signifer.

Singulari prophetiâ  
 Prophetarum monarchiâ  
 Sublimatur omnium. 45

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38. *lucerna*] In the words of the Psalmist, *Paravi lucernam Christo meo*, Ps. cxxxi. 7, (Vulg.) it was very common to find a distinct prophecy of the Baptist. The application was helped on by the reappearance of *lucerna* in regard of him in the words of our Lord: *Ille erat lucerna ardens, et lucens* (John v. 35, Vulg.) Cf. Augustine, *Serm.* 293, 4.—40.—*lucifer*] This title of the light-bringer, the morning star, was a nomen proprium applied to the Baptist. Durandus: *Ideò autem Joannes dictus est Lucifer, quia obtulit novum tempus.* To remember this, explains St Bernard's bringing in of a comparison between him and that other "son of the morning," that other *lucifer* (Isai. xiv. 12, 13, Vulg.) who sought not to go before the true sun, but to usurp his place. He exclaims: *Lucet ergo Johannes, tantò verius quantò minus appetit lucere.* *Fidelis Lucifer, qui Solis justitiæ non usurpare venerit, sed prænuntiare splendorem.*

43—45. *sublimatur*] Clichtoveus thinks these words to allude to our Lord's declaration concerning John, that he was a prophet, "and more than a prophet;" (Matt. xi. 9;) and the words of Gregory

Hi futurum, hic præsentem,  
 Hi venturum, venientem  
 Monstrat iste Filium.

Dum baptizat Christum foris,  
 Hic à Christo melioris  
 Aquæ tactu tingitur :  
 Duos duplex lavat flumen,  
 Isti nomen, illi numen  
 Baptistæ conceditur.

50

Dum baptizat, baptizatur,  
 Dumque lavat, hic lavatur  
 Vi lavantis omnia.  
 Aquæ lavant et lavantur,  
 His lavandi vires dantur  
 Baptizati gratiâ.

55

60

O lucerna Verbi Dei,  
 Ad cœlestis nos diei  
 Ducat luminaria,

---

the Great (*Hom. 6 in Evang.*, §. 5) are rather in confirmation of this view. Yet we ought not to forget, that it was often brought out as one of the prerogatives of the Baptist, that he was the only prophet who was himself prophesied of before his birth. Thus by Augustine (*Serm.* 288. 3): *Hic propheta, immo amplius quàm propheta, prænuntiari meruit per prophetam. De illo namque dixit Isaias, Vox clamantis in deserto.* And I cannot feel sure that this is not the *singularis prophetia*, which the poet means to say lifted him above all his fellows.

58—60. *lavantur*] So Marbod, in a leonine couplet :

Non egult tergi, voluit qui flumine mergi :  
 Lotus aquas lavit, baptismaque sanctificavit.

Nos ad portum ex hoc fluctu,

Nos ad risum ex hoc luctu

65

Christi trahat gratia.

66. There are other hymns upon John the Baptist, inferior to this one, yet yielding more than one beautiful stanza. Thus in Daniel's *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 217, an anonymous one beginning thus, but not at all maintaining the merits of its opening :

In occursum Præcursoris  
Concurrenti cordis, oris,  
Curramus obsequio;  
In lucernâ Lux laudetur,  
In præcone veneretur  
Judex, sol in radio.

Solem solet repentinum,  
Vel quid grande vel divinum  
Vulgus ægrè capere :  
Quare nobis habetatis  
Sol supernæ veritatis  
Præluxit in sidere.

Hic Præcursor et Propheta,  
Immo Prophetarum meta,  
Legi ponens terminum,  
Mirè cepit, per applausum  
Ventre matris clausus clausum  
Revelando Dominum.

Another by Adam of St Victor, preserved by Clichtoveus, p. 199, yields the two following stanzas :

Ad honorem tuum, Christe,  
Recolat Ecclesia  
Præcursoris et Baptistæ  
Tui natalitia.  
Laus est regis in præconis  
Ipsius præconio,  
Quem virtutum ditat donis,  
Sublimat officio.

Agnum monstrat in aperto  
Vox clamantis in deserto,  
Vox Verbi prænuncia.  
Ardens fide, verbo lucens,



Et ad veram lucem ducens,  
 Multa docet millia.  
 Non lux iste, sed lucerna,  
 Christus verò lux æterna,  
 Lux illustrans omnia.

These stanzas, as is usual with this writer, swarm with patristic and Scriptural allusion. And first, he brings out the exceptional circumstance, that, while with all other saints it is the day of their death, in his case it is that of his birth, the *natalitia*, which the Church celebrates—the *Nativity* of John the Baptist. Augustine urges this, (*Serm.* 290, c. 2,) and gives the reason: Denique quia in magno Sacramento natus est Johannes, ipsius solius justi natalem diem celebrat Ecclesia. Et natalis Domini celebratur, sed tanquam Domini. Date mihi alium servum, præter Johannem inter Patriarchas, inter Prophetas, inter Apostolos, cujus natalem diem celebret Ecclesia Christi. Passionum diem servis plurimis celebramus; nativitatis diem nemini nisi Johanni. The reasons for this, which Augustine has but here touched on, Durandus (*Rationale*, l. 7, c. 14) gives at full. They are found in the words of the angel, that many should rejoice at his birth; (*Luke* i. 14;) in the fact that he should be filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb; (i. 15;) and in his relation to his Lord as the morning star, whose first appearing heralded the rising of the true Sun. We learn from that same passage that Cant. ii. 12, was applied to him. His was the voice of the turtle which, being heard in the land, told that winter was past, and the rain was over and gone. Nor should the reader miss, in the second stanza, the play with the words *Vox* and *Verbum*, which is indeed much more than a play, and rests on very deep and mysterious fitnesses—John a sound, a startling cry in that old world to which he himself belonged, a voice crying in the wilderness; but Christ a new utterance out of the bosom of the Eternal, an articulate *Word*. I must, however, refer those who would follow up the deeper fitnesses of these terms *Vox* and *Verbum*, *Φωνή* and *Λόγος*, in their application to the Baptist and his Lord, with all the poet has here in his eye, to Origen, (*In Joan.*, t. ii, §. 26;) or better still, to Augustine, (*Serm.* 288, §. 3.)—In the next line, *Ardens fide, verbo lucens*, he is making his commentary on the words already quoted: Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens.

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## VII. DE NATIVITATE DOMINI.

PUER natus in Bethlehem,  
Unde gaudet Jerusalem.

Hic jacet in præsepio,  
Qui regnat sine termino.

Cognovit bos et asinus 5  
Quod puer erat Dominus.

VII. Corner, *Prompt. Devot.*, p. 278; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 334. This hymn, of a very beautiful simplicity, and absorbing easily and naturally so much theology in its poetry, and in many ways containing so much in a brief compass, continued long a great favourite in the Lutheran Churches of Germany. Its use indeed survived among them till wellnigh the present day. It sometimes appears at nearly twice the length at which I have given it: but all which is more than this looks like filling up, and injures rather than promotes the effect of the whole.

5. *Bos et asinus*] Two passages in the Old Testament supplied the groundwork to that wide-spread legend which painters of the Nativity have so often made their own, and to which here the poet alludes, viz., that the ox and the ass recognized and worshipped that Lord whom the Jews ignored and rejected. The first and principal of these is of course Isai. i. 3: Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus præsepe domini sui: Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus meus non intellexit. (Vulg.) There was seen here a prophetic reference to the manger at Bethlehem; and no less at Hab. iii. 2, where the Septuagint has strangely enough, ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ, being followed herein by the old Italic: In medio duorum animalium innotesceris.

Reges de Sabâ veniunt,  
Aurum, thus, myrrham offerunt.

Intrantes domum invicem  
Novum salutant principem.

10

De matre natus virgine  
Sine virili semine;

Sine serpentis vulnere  
De nostro venit sanguine;

In carne nobis similis,  
Peccato sed dissimilis;

15

Ut redderet nos homines  
Deo et sibi similes.

In hoc natali gaudio  
Benedicamus Domino:

20

Laudetur sancta Trinitas,  
Deo dicamus gratias.

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## PETER THE VENERABLE.

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PETER the Venerable, born 1092 or 1094, of a noble family of Auvergne, was elected in 1122 Abbot of Clugny—being constituted thereby the chief of that reformed branch of the Benedictine order, the head quarters of which were at Clugny in Burgundy. This admirable man, one of that wonderful galaxy of illustrious men who adorned France in the first half of the twelfth century, was probably only second, although second by a very long interval, to St Bernard in the influence which, by his talents and virtues, and position at the head of a great and important congregation, he was able to exercise upon his time. His history is in more ways than one bound up with that of his greater cotemporary. He is indeed now chiefly known for his keen though friendly controversy with St Bernard, on the respective merits of the “black” and “white” monks, the Clugnian, and the yet later Cistercian, who now in their fervent youth were carrying the world before them. The correspondence is as characteristic in its way as that with which it naturally suggests a comparison, between St Augustine and St Jerome; casting nearly as much light on the characters of the men, and far more on that of their times. But besides this, it was with him that Abelard found shelter, after the condemnation of his errors, and to his offices the reconciliation which was effected before Abelard’s death, between him and St Bernard, was owing. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that to Peter the Venerable western Christendom was indebted for

its first accurate acquaintance with the Koran. Travelling in Spain, he was convinced how important it was that the Church should be thoroughly acquainted with that system with which it was in hostile contact, and at a great cost he caused a translation of the Koran into Latin to be made. That he should have done this, is alone sufficient to mark him as no common man. He has also himself written a refutation of Mahometanism. He died in 1156.

The poems which bear his name are not considerable in bulk, nor can they be esteemed of any very high order of merit. Yet apart from their interest as productions of one who played so important a part in the history of his age, these lines which immediately follow, and another hymn occupying a later place in this volume, will be allowed to possess a sufficient worth of their own to justify their insertion.

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## VIII. DE NATIVITATE DOMINI.

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CŒLUM gaude, terra plaude,  
 C Nemo mutus sit in laude:  
 Auctor rerum creaturam  
 Miseratus perituram,  
 Præbet dextram libertatis  
 Jam ab hoste captivatis.  
 Cœlum terræ fundit rorem,  
 Terra gignit Salvatorem.

---

Chorus cantat Angelorum, Cùm sit infans Rex eorum.	10
Venter ille virginalis, Dei cella specialis, Fœcundatur Spiritu. Et ut virga parit florem, Sic et Virgo Redemptorem,	15
Carnis tectum habitu. Matris alitur intactæ Puer-Deus sacro lacte, Res stupenda sæculis ! Escâ vivit alienâ	20
Per quem cuncta manent plena ; Nullis par miraculis ! Pastu carnis enutritur Vitam carni qui largitur : Matris habet gremium,	25
Quem et Patris solium : Virgo natum consolatur, Et ut Deum veneratur.	

## ALANUS.

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ALANUS de Insulis, that is, of Lille in Flanders, called Doctor Universalis from the extent of his acquirements, was born in the first half of the twelfth century, and died at the beginning of the next. His life is as perplexed a skein for the biographer to disentangle as can well be imagined, abundantly justifying the axiom of Bacon: *Citius emergit veritas ex errore quàm ex confusione*—the great perplexity arising here from the difficulty of determining whether he and an Alanus, also de Insulis, the friend of St Bernard and bishop of Auxerre, be one and the same person. The *Biographie Universelle* corrected this as an error, although a generally received one; Oudinus, it is true, had already shewn the way; (*De Script. Eccles.*, v. 2, p. 1339—1404;) but Guericke and Neander again identify the two. The question, however, does not belong to this volume. The Doctor Universalis is undoubtedly the poet, and it is only with the poet we are here concerned.

The only collected edition of his works was published by Charles de Visch, Antwerp, 1654; a volume not easily to be met with. It was only in the National Library at Paris that I was able to get sight of it, and to obtain a perfect copy of a very beautiful Ode, inserted later in this volume. His *Parables* were a favourite book before the revival of learning; but the work of his which enjoyed the highest reputation was a long moral poem, entitled *Anti-Claudius*, it does not very clearly appear why. (See Leyser, p. 1017, who is very copious in his extracts from it.) I know



not whether it will bear out the praises which have been bestowed upon it and on its author. One says of him (Leyser, p. 1020): *Inter ævi sui poëtas facilè familiam duxit*; and Oudinus, v. 2, p. 1405, characterizes the poem as *singulari festivitate, lepore, et elegantiâ conscriptum*; see also Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, v. 1, p. 329. Certainly the following lines, Ovidian both in their merits and defects, are the writing of a poet. They are the description of a natural Paradise:

Est locus ex nostro secretus climate, tractu  
 Longo, nostrorum ridens fermenta locorum:  
 Iste potest solus quidquid loca cætera possunt.  
 Quod minus in reliquis, melius suppletur in uno;  
 In quo pubescens tenerâ lanugine florum,  
 Sideribus stellata suis, succensa rosarum  
 Murice<sup>1</sup>, terra novum contendit pingere cælum.  
 Non ibi nascentis exspirat gratia floris,  
 Nascendo moriens; nec enim rosa, mane puella,  
 Vespere languet anus, sed vultu semper eodem  
 Gaudens interni juvenescit munere veris.  
 Hunc florem non urit hyems, non decoquit æstas,  
 Non ibi Bacchantis Boreæ furit ira, nec illic  
 Fulminat aura noti, nec spicula grandinis instant.  
 Ambit silva locum, muri mentita figuram:  
 Non florum prædatur opes, foliique capillum  
 Tondet hyems, teneram florum depasta juventam.  
 Sirenes nemorum, citharistæ veris, in illum  
 Convenere locum, mellitaque carmina sparsim  
 Commentantur aves, dum gutturis organa pulsant.  
 In medio lacrymatur humus, fletuque beato  
 Producens lacrymas, fontem sudore perenni  
 Parturit, et dulces potus singultat aquarum.  
 Exuit ingemitas(?) facies argenteus amnis;  
 Ad puri remeans elementi jura, nitore  
 Fulgurat in proprio, peregrinâ fæce solutus.

The following lines form part, or as Oudinus asserts,

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<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he has this couplet:

Ver, quasi fullo novus, reparando pallia pratis  
 Horum succendit muricis igne togas.

the whole, of the genuine epitaph of Alanus. The last of them is striking enough :

Alanum brevis hora brevi tumulo sepelivit,  
Qui duo, qui septem, qui totum seibile scivit;  
Scire suum moriens dare vel retinere nequivit.

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## IX. DE NATIVITATE DOMINI.

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**H**IC est qui, carnis intrans ergastula nostræ,  
Se pœnæ vinxit, vinctos ut solveret; æger  
Factus, ut ægrotos sanaret; pauper ut ipsis  
Pauperibus conferret opem; defunctus ut ipsâ  
Vitâ donaret defunctos: exsulis omen  
Passus, ut exilio miseros subduceret exul.  
Sic livore perit livor, sic vulnere vulnus,  
Sic morbus damnat morbum, mors morto fugatur:  
Sic moritur vivens, ut vivat mortuus; hæres  
Exulat, ut servos hæredes reddat; egenus  
Fit dives, pauperque potens, ut ditet egenos.  
Sic liber servit, ut servos liberet; imum  
Summa petunt, ut sic ascendant infima summum;  
Ut nox splendescat, splendor tenebrescit; eclipsi  
Sol verus languescit, ut astra reducat ad ortum.  
Ægrotat medicus, ut sanet morbidus ægrum.  
Se cœlum terræ conformat, cedrus hysopo,  
Ipse gigas nano, fumo lux, dives egeno,  
Ægroto sanus, servo rex, purpura sacco.  
Hic est, qui nostram sortem miseratus, ab aulâ  
Æterni Patris egrediens, fastidia nostræ  
Sustinuit sortis; sine crimine, criminis in se  
Defigens pœnas, et nostri damna reatûs.

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## MAUBURN.

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JOHN Mauburn was born at Brussels in 1460, and died Abbot of the Cloister of Livry, not far from Paris, in 1502. He was the author of several ascetic treatises, among others the *Rosetum Spirituale*, from which the following hymn is derived.

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### X. DE NATIVITATE DOMINI.

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HEU! quid jaces stabulo,  
Omnium Creator,  
Vagiens cunabulo,  
Mundi reparator?

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X. Mauburnus, *Rosetum Spirituale*, Duaci, 1620, p. 416; Corner, *Prompt. Devot.*, p. 280; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 335.—These three stanzas are taken from a longer poem consisting of thirteen in all, which commences:

Eja, mea anima,  
Bethlehem eamus.

I have not selected them, for they had long since been separated from the context, and constituted into a Christmas hymn—a great favourite, it would seem, in the early reformed Churches, so long as the practice of singing Latin compositions survived among them. It still occasionally retains a place in the German hymn-books, but now in an old translation which commences thus:

Warum liegt im Krippelein—

As this hymn sometimes appears with a text considerably different

Si rex, ubi purpura,	5
Vel clientum murmura,	
Ubi aula regis?	
Hic omnis penuria,	
Paupertatis curia,	
Forma novæ legis.	10
Istuc amor generis	
Me traxit humani,	
Quod se noxâ sceleris	
Occidit profani.	
His meis inopiis	15
• Gratiarum copiis	
Te pergo ditare:	
Hocce natalitio,	
Vero sacrificio,	
Te volens beare.	20
O te laudum millibus	
Laudo, laudo, laudo ;	
Tantis mirabilibus	
Plaudo, plaudo, plaudo :	
Gloria, sit gloria,	25
Amanti memoria	
Domino in altis :	
Cui testimonia	
Dantur et præconia	
Cœlicis à psaltis.	30

---

from that here presented, I may say that mine has been obtained, not from any secondary source, but from the *Rosetum* itself; not indeed from the original edition, Basle, 1491, which lay not within my reach, but from that referred to above, which has much appearance of having been carefully edited.

## XI. DE NATIVITATE DOMINI.

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O TER fœcundas, o ter jucundas  
Beatæ noctis delicias,  
Quæ suspiratas e cœlo datas  
In terris paris delicias!

Gravem primævæ ob lapsum Evæ  
Dum jamjam mundus emoritur,  
In carne meus, ut vivat, Deus,  
Sol vitæ, mundo suboritur.

Æternum Lumen, immensum Numen  
Pannorum vinculis stringitur;  
In vili caulâ, exclusus aulâ,  
Rex cœli bestiis cingitur.

In cunis jacet, et infans tacet  
Verbum, quod loquitur omnia;  
Sol mundi friget, et flamma riget:  
Quid sibi volunt hæc omnia?

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XI. [Walraff,] *Corolla Hymnorum*, Coloniae, 1806, p. 8; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 339.—This pretty poem, for it cannot claim any higher title, is certainly of no very early date, can scarcely be earlier than the fifteenth century, and thus belongs, if I am right in my conjecture, to a period when the fountains of inspiration, at least of that inspiration which has given us the great medieval hymns, were very nearly exhausted.

## XII. SEQUENTIA DE TRIBUS REGIBUS.

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MAJESTATI sacrosanctæ  
Militans cum triumphante

Jubilet Ecclesia :

Sic versetur laus in ore,

Ne gravetur cor torpore,

Quod degustat gaudia.

5

Novum parit virga florem,

Novum monstrat stella solem ;

Currunt ad præsepia

Reges magi, qui non vagi,

Sed præsagi, gaudent agi

\* Stellâ duce præviâ.

10

Trium regum trinum munus ;

Christus, Homo-Deus, unus

Cum carne et animâ ;

Deus trinus in personis

Adoratur tribus donis,

Unus in essentiâ.

15

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XII. Corner, *Prompt. Devot.*, p. 367.—There are other poems of a merit perhaps equal or superior to this, for which I have been unable to find room, but the exceeding rarity of the only volume, Corner's *Promptuarium Devotionis*, in which I have ever met this, has made me prefer it to more obvious compositions. On this very subject of the Eastern Magi we have the much grander lines of Prudentius (*Cathemer.*, xii. 1—76), which rank among the noblest passages of his poetry.

Myrrham ferunt, thus, et aurum,  
 Plus pensantes, quàm thesaurum, 20  
 Typum, sub quo veritas;  
 Trina dona, tres figuræ:  
 Rex in auro, Deus in thure,  
 In myrrhâ mortalitas.

Thuris odor Deitatem, 25  
 Auri splendor dignitatem  
 Regalis potentiaë:  
 Myrrha caro Verbo nupta,  
 Per quod manet incorrupta  
 Caro carens carie. 30

Tu nos, Christe, ab hâc valle  
 Duc ad vitam recto calle  
 Per regum vestigia.  
 Ubi Patris, ubi Tui,  
 Et Amoris Sacri, frui 35  
 Mereamur gloriâ. Amen.

---

36. The following lines, blending into a single stanza the twofold homage of the Jewish shepherds and the Gentile sages, were great favourites at and after the Reformation. They form the first stanza of a hymn which only consists of two, and belong probably to the fourteenth century. (Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 333.)

Quem pastores laudavere,  
 Quibus angeli dixere,  
 "Absit vobis jam timere"  
 Natus est Rex gloriæ:  
 Ad quem reges ambulabant,  
 Aurum, thus, myrrham portabant;  
 Hæc sincere immolabant  
 Leoni victoriæ.



## PRUDENTIUS.

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AURELIUS Clemens Prudentius was born, as there is good reason to suppose, in Spain. But the evidence from certain expressions which he uses, in favour of Saragossa as his birth-place, is equally good in favour of Tarra-gona, and of Calahorra; and therefore, since he could not have been born in more places than one, is worthless in regard of them all. All that we know with any certainty about him, is drawn from a short autobiography in verse, which he has prefixed to his poems, and which contains a catalogue of them. From this we gather that he was born A.D. 348; that, having enjoyed a liberal education, and for a while practised as a pleader, he had filled important judicial posts in two cities which he does not name, and had subsequently received a high military appointment at the Court; but that now, in his fifty-seventh year, in which this sketch of his life was given, he looked back with sorrow and shame to the sins and follies of his youth, to the worldliness of his middle age, and desired to dedicate what remained of his life to an earnest and devoted service of God. The year of his death is not known.

Barth, who in his *Adversaria* is always prodigal in his commendations of the Christian poets, is most prodigal of all in regard of Prudentius. Poëta eximius—eruditissimus et sanctissimus scriptor—nemo divinius de rebus Christianis unquam scripsit—such is the ordinary language which he uses about him: and even Bentley, who for the most is not at all so lavish of admiration, calls him “the Horace

and Virgil of the Christians." Extravagant praises, compensated on the other side by as undue depreciation. For giving, as it must be owned he does, many and distinct tokens of belonging to an age of deeply sunken taste, yet was his gift of sacred poetry a most true one; and when it is charged against him in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, that "his Latinity is not formed, like that of Juvenecus and Victorinus, upon the best ancient models, but is confessedly impure," this is really his praise,—namely, that, whether consciously or unconsciously, he did act on the principle, that the new life claimed new forms in which to manifest itself,—that he did not shrink from helping forward that great transformation of the Latin language, which it had need to undergo, now that it was to be the vehicle of truths which were altogether novel to it, having not yet risen up above the horizon of men's minds, at the time when it was in its first growth and formation. Let any one compare his poems with those of Juvenecus or Sedulius, and his vast superiority will be at once manifest—that superiority mainly consisting in this, that he does not attempt, as they did, to pour the new wine into old bottles; but has felt and understood that the new thoughts and feelings which Christianity has brought into the world, must of necessity weave new garments for themselves.

The poems on which the reputation of Prudentius as a poet mainly rests, are his *Cathemerinōn*=*Diurnorum*. The tenth, *Deus, ignee Fons animarum*, is confessedly the grandest of them all. The first also, on Cockcrow, and the twelfth, an Hymn for Epiphany, though they attain not to the grandeur of this, may well share with it in our admiration.

## XIII. DE SS. INNOCENTIBUS.

SALVETE, flores martyrum,  
 Quos lucis ipso in limine  
 Christi insecutor sustulit,  
 Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.

Vos, prima Christi victima,  
 Grex immolatorum tener,  
 Aram ante ipsam simplices  
 Palmâ et coronis luditis.

Audit tyrannus anxius  
 Adesse regum Principem,

5

10

XIII. *Prudentii Carmina*, ed. Obbarius, Tübingæ, 1845, p. 48; Daniel, *Theol. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 124.—This hymn, as given in the text above, is not exactly as Prudentius wrote it; rather is it a piece of mosaic, constructed for his twelfth Cathemerinôn. It has, however, been so long current in the form in which it here appears, and is so skilfully put together, that I have neither excluded it, nor attempted to restore it to the form in which it appears in the text of the poet. As a whole, the hymn, as he wrote it, would have been far too long for insertion, and is not without some serious offences against taste; while no extract would have the completeness which this both in itself possesses, and of which it has besides acquired the sense, by long use and currency in its present form.

1. *flores martyrum*] Augustine, or rather one in the name of Augustine: Jure dicuntur *martyrum flores*, quos in medio frigore infidelitatis exortos, velut primas erumpentis ecclesiæ gemmas, quædam persecutionis pruina decoxit.

Qui nomen Israel regat,  
Teneatque David regiam.

Exclamat amens nuncio :  
Successor instat, pellimur ;  
Satelles, i, ferrum rape, 15  
Perfunde cunas sanguine.

Mas omnis infans occidat,  
Scrutare nutricum sinus,  
Fraus nequa furtim subtrahat  
Prolem virilis indolis. 20

Transfigit ergo carnifex,  
Mucrone districto furens,  
Effusa nuper corpora,  
Animasque rimatur novas.

O barbarum spectaculum ! 25  
Vix interemptor invenit  
Locum minutis artubus  
Quo plaga descendat patens.

Quid proficit tantum nefas ?  
Quid crimen Herodem juvat ? 30  
Unus tot inter funera  
Impune Christus tollitur.

Inter coævi sanguinis  
Fluenta solus integer,  
Ferrum, quod orbatat nurus, 35  
Partus fefellit Virginis.

## XIV. IN EPIPHANIA DOMINI.

TRIBUS signis Deo dignis  
Dies ista colitur;  
Tria signa laudo digna  
Cœtus hic persequitur.

Stella magos duxit vagos  
Ad præsepe Domini,  
Congaudentes omnes gentes  
Ejus psallunt nomini.

5

Novum mirum, aqua vinum  
Factum est ad nuptias:  
Mundus credit, Christus dedit  
Signorum primitias.

10

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XIV. *Bibl. Max. Patrum*, Lugduni, 1677, v. 27, p. 517.—  
This little poem, sometimes ascribed to Hartmann, one of the monks of St Gall, brings together well the three events of the Lord's life, the three *manifestations* of his glory, which the Western Church brought into connexion with the feast of Epiphany, and commemorated upon that day. Thus Maximus Taurinensis, at the beginning of the fifth century (*Hom.* 23): In hac celebritate multiplici nobis est festivitate lætandum. Ferunt enim hodie Christum Dominum nostrum vel stellâ duce à gentibus adoratum: invitatum ad nuptias aquas in vinum vertisse: vel suscepto à Johanne baptismo consecrâsse fluentia Jordanis. Oportet itaque nos ad honorem Salvatoris nostri, cujus nativitatem debitâ nuper cum exultatione transeginus, etiam hunc virtutum ejus celebrare natalem. Cf. Durandus, *Rational.*, l. 6, c. 16.

A Johanne in Jordane  
Christus baptizatus est :  
Unde lotus mundus totus 15  
Et purificatus est.

Lector, lege ; à summo Rege  
Tibi benedictio  
Sit in cœlis : plebs fidelis  
Psallat cum tripudio. Amen. 20

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## FORTUNATUS.

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**V**ENANTIUS Fortunatus, an Italian by birth, whose life however, was chiefly spent in Gaul, belongs to the latter half of the sixth century. He was born in the district of Treviso, in the year 530, but passed the Alps, a little before the great invasion of the Lombards and the desolation of Northern Italy, and is memorable as one of the last who, amid the advancing tide of barbarism, retained anything of the old classical culture. A master of *vers de société*, which he made with a negligent ease, yet not without elegance, he wandered, a highly favoured guest, from castle to cloister in Gaul, repaying the hospitalities which he everywhere received, with neatly-turned compliments in verse. Such was the manner of his life, until Queen Rhaegunda, now separated from her husband Clotaire, persuaded him to attach himself to her person, and, having received ordination, to settle at Poitiers, in the neighbourhood of which she was presiding over a monastic institution that had been founded by herself. Here he remained till his death, which some place in the year 609, having become during the latter years of his life, bishop of Poitiers.

There is a chapter of singular liveliness in Thierry's *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, *Récit 5me*, on the character of Fortunatus, and on his relations, which, though intimate even Thierry does not pretend to consider otherwise than perfectly innocent, and even without scandal, with the Queen. It is impossible to deny that there is some truth in the portraiture of the poet which he draws. Even



Guizot (*Civilisation en France*, 18me Leçon,) must be taken to allow it. Yet had Fortunatus been merely that clever, frivolous, self-indulgent and vain character, that Thierry describes, he would scarcely have risen to the height and elevation which, in two or three of his poems, he has certainly attained;—poems, it is true, which are inconceivably superior to the mass of those out of which they are taken. In Barth's *Adversaria* there is the same exaggerated estimate of Fortunatus which there is of Prudentius, and with far less in his poetry to justify or excuse it. It would indeed have been otherwise, had he often written as in the lines which follow.

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## XV. DE CRUCE CHRISTI.

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CRUX benedicta nitet, Dominus quâ carne pependit,  
 Atque cruore suo vulnera nostra lavat.  
 Mitis amore pio pro nobis victima factus,  
 Traxit ab ore lupi quâ sacer agnus oves.  
 Transfixis palmis ubi mundum à clade redemit, 5  
 Atque suo clausit funere mortis iter.  
 Hic manus illa fuit clavis confixa cruentis,  
 Quæ eripuit Paulum crimine, morte Petrum.

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XV. Thomasius, *Hymnarium*, *Opp.*, v. 2, p. 433 ; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 168.—These lines are only the portion of a far longer poem ; yet have a completeness in themselves which has long caused them to be current in their present shape, till it is almost forgotten that they only form part of a larger whole.

8. *Paulum—Petrum*] Acts ix. 5 ; xii. 7.

[T. L. P.]

Fertilitate potens, o dulce et nobile lignum,  
 Quando tuis ramis tam nova poma geris. 10  
 Cujus odore novo defuncta cadavera surgunt,  
 Et redeunt vitæ qui caruere die.  
 Nullum uret æstus sub frondibus arboris hujus,  
 Luna nec in nocte, sol neque meridie.  
 Tu plantata micas, secus est ubi cursus aquarum, 15  
 Spargis et ornatas flore recente comas.  
 Appensa est vitis inter tua brachia, de quâ  
 Dulcia sanguineo vina rubore fluunt.

---

13, 14. Cf. Ps. cxx. 6.

15. *secus*] The use of *secus* as a preposition governing an accusative, (here understand *loca*,) and as equivalent to *secundum*, though unknown to classical Latinity, belongs alike to the anterior and the subsequent period of the language, to Cato and to Pliny. And thus we have Ps. i. 3. (Vulg.) words, which doubtless were in the poet's mind when he wrote this line: Et erit tanquam lignum, quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo.

17. *vitis*] The cross as the tree to which the vine is clinging, and from which its tendrils and fruit depend, is a beautiful weaving in of the image of the true Vine with the fact of the Crucifixion. The blending of one image and another comes perhaps yet more beautifully out, though not with quite such logical coherence, in that which sometimes appears in ancient works of Christian art,—namely, Christ set forth as the Lamb round which the branches of a loaded vine are clustering and clinging.

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## XVI. DE PASSIONE DOMINI.

Q UISQUIS ades, mediique subis in limina templi,  
 Siste parum, insonstemque tuo pro crimine passum  
 Respice me, me conde animo, me in pectore serva.  
 Ille ego qui, casus hominum miseratus acerbos,  
 Huc veni, pacis promissæ interpretes, et ampla 5  
 Communis culpæ venia : hic clarissima ab alto  
 Reddita lux terris, hic alma salutis imago ;  
 Hic tibi sum requies, via recta, redemptio vera,  
 Vexillumque Dei, signum et memorabile fari.  
 Te propter vitamque tuam sum Virginis alvum 10  
 Ingressus, sum factus homo, atque horrentia passus  
 Funera, nec requiem terrarum in finibus usquam  
 Inveni, sed ubique minas, et ubique labores.

\* \* \* \* \*

XVI. Fabricius, *Poëtt. Vett. Christ. Opp.*, Basileæ, 1562, p. 759; *Lactantii Opp.*, Antverpiæ, 1555, p. 589.—This poem, consisting of about eighty lines, of which I have here given something less than half, appears in Fabricius, with the title *De Beneficiis suis Christus*. It is there ascribed to Lactantius, in most editions of whose works it in like manner appears, with the title *De Passione Domini*. Although Barth (*Advers.*, 32, 2) maintains the correctness of this its ascription to Lactantius, there cannot be any doubt that it pertains to a somewhat later age. But whosoever it may be, it does, in Bähr's words, (*Die Christl. Dichter Rom's*, p. 22,) "belong to the more admirable productions of Christian poetry, and in this respect would not be unworthy of Lactantius." Though abounding too much in elisions, it has something of the true flow of the Latin hexameter, which so few of the Christian poets, or indeed of any of the poets who belonged to the silver age, were able to catch.

Nunc me, nunc verò desertum, extrema secutum  
Supplicia, et dulci procul à genetrice levatum, 15  
Vertice ad usque pedes me lustra; en aspice crines  
Sanguine concretos, et sanguinolenta sub ipsis  
Colla comis, spinisque caput crudelibus haustum,  
Undique diva pluens vivum super ora cruorem;  
Compressos specularo oculos et luce carentes, 20  
Afflictasque genas, arentem suspice linguam  
Felle venenatam, et pallentes funere vultus.  
Cerne manus clavis fixas, tractosque lacertos,  
Atque ingens lateris vulnus; cerne inde fluorem  
Sanguineum, fossosque pedes, artusque cruentos. 25  
Flecte genu, innocuo terramque cruore madentem  
Ore petens humili, lacryinis perfunde subortis,  
Et me nonnunquam devoto in corde, meosque  
Fer monitus, sectare meæ vestigia vitæ,  
Ipsaque supplicia inspicies, mortemque severam, 30  
Corporis innumeros memorans animique dolores,  
Disce adversa pati, et propriæ invigilare saluti.  
Hæc monumenta tibi si quando in mente juvabit  
Volvere, si qua fides animo tibi ferre, meorum  
Debita si pietas et gratia digna laborum 35  
Surget, erunt veræ stimuli virtutis, eruntque  
Hostis in insidias clypei, quibus acer in omni  
Tutus eris victorque feres certamine palmam.

---

## XVII. MEDITATIONES.

DESERE jam, anima, lectulum soporis,  
 Languor, torpor, vanitas excludatur foris,  
 Intus cor efferveat facibus amoris,  
 Recolens mirifica gesta Salvatoris.

Mens, affectus, ratio, simul convenite, 5  
 Occupari frivolis ultra jam nolite;  
 Discursus, vagatio, cum curis abite,  
 Dum pertractat animus sacramenta vitæ.

XVII. *Bibl. Max. Patrum*, v. 27, p. 444.—These stanzas form part of a very long rhymed contemplation of our Lord's life and death, which is sometimes ascribed to Anselm, bishop of Lucca, a cotemporary of his more illustrious English namesake. He died 1086.—These trochaic lines of thirteen syllables long, disposed in mono-rhymed quatrains, were great favorites in the middle ages, and much used for narrative poems; and though, when too long drawn out, wearying in their monotony, and in the necessity of the pause falling in every line at exactly the same place, are capable both of strength and beauty. These *Meditations* have both; and Du Méril has lately published, for the first time, a long poem on the death of Thomas à Becket (*Poésies Popul. Lat.*, 1847, p. 81,) which will further yield a stanza or two, if such were wanted, in proof. They relate to the feigned reconciliation of Henry with the archbishop, by which he drew him from his safer exile in France:

Ægras dat inducias latro viatori,  
 Sabulo vis turbinis, vis procellæ flori;  
 Lupi cum oviculâ ludus est dolori;  
 Verè lupus lusor est qui dat dolo mori.

Ut post Syrtes mittitur in Charybdim navis,  
 Ut laxatis laqueis inescatur avis,  
 Sic remisit exulem malè pax suavis,  
 Miscens crucis poculum sub verborum favis.

Jesu mi dulcissime, Domine cœlorum,  
Conditor omnipotens, Rex universorum, 10  
Quis jam actus sufficit mirari gestorum,  
Quæ te ferro compulit salus miserorum?

Te de cœlis caritas traxit animarum,  
Pro quibus palatium deserens præclarum,  
Miseram ingrediens vallem lacrymarum, 15  
Opus durum suscipis, et iter amarum.

Tristatur lætitia, salus infirmatur,  
Panis vivus esurit, virtus sustentatur;  
Sitit fons perpetuus, quo cœlum potatur;  
Et ista quis intuens mira, non miratur? 20

Oh mira dignatio pii Salvatoris,  
Oh verè mirifica pietas amoris;  
Expers culpæ nosceris, Jesu, flos decoris,  
Ego tui, prohi dolor! causa sum doloris.

Ego heu! superbio, tu humiliaris; 25  
Ego culpas perpetro, tu pœnâ mulctaris;  
Ego fruor dulcibus, tu felle potaris;  
Ego peto mollia, tu durè tractaris.

---

## ST BERNARD.

---

ST Bernard, born in 1091, of a noble family, at Fontaine in Burgundy, became in 1113 a monk of Citeaux, and in 1115 first abbot of Clairvaux. He died Aug. 20, 1153. There have been other men, Augustine and Luther for instance, who by their words and writings have ploughed deeper and more lasting furrows in the great field of the Church, but probably no man during his lifetime ever exercised a *personal* influence in Christendom equal to his; who was the stayer of popular commotions, the queller of heresies, the umpire between princes and kings, the counsellor of popes, the founder, for so he may be esteemed, of an important religious order, the author of a crusade. Besides all deeper qualities which would not alone have sufficed to effect all this, he was gifted by nature and grace with rarest powers of persuasion, (Doctor mellifluus as he was rightly called, though the honey perhaps was sometimes a little too honied,) and seems to have exercised a wellnigh magical influence upon all those with whom he was brought into contact. The hymns which usually go by his name were judged away from him on very slight and insufficient grounds, by Mabillon, in his edition of St Bernard's works. But with the exception of the *Cur mundus militat*, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of their attribution to him. All internal evidence is in favour of him as their author. If he did not write, it is not easy to guess who could have written, them; and indeed they bear profoundly the stamp of his mind, being only inferior in beauty to his prose.



# XVIII. ORATIO RHYTHMICA AD CHRISTUM A CRUCE PENDENTEM.

## 1. AD PEDES.

**S**ALVE, mundi salutare,  
 Salve salve, Jesu care,  
 Cruci tuæ me aptare  
 Vellem verè, tu scis quare,  
 Da mihi tui copiam. 5  
 Ac si præsens sis, accedo,  
 Immo te præsensem credo.  
 Oh quàm mundum hic te cerno!  
 Ecce tibi me prosterno,  
 Sis facilis ad veniam. 10

Clavos pedum, plagas duras,  
 Et tam graves impressuras  
 Circumplector cum affectu,  
 Tuo pavens in aspectu,

---

XVIII. *Bernardi Opp.*, ed. Bened., Paris, 1719, v. 2, pp. 916, 919.—The full title of the poem from which two of its seven portions, each however complete in itself, are here drawn, is commonly as follows: *Rhythmica oratio ad unum quodlibet membrorum Christi patientis, et à cruce pendentis*. I have chosen these two, the first and the last, because in a composition of such length, extending to nearly four hundred lines, it was necessary to make some selection; yet its other divisions are of no inferior depth or beauty: quæ omnia, as Daniel says with merest truth, omnes divini amoris spirant æstus atque incendia, ut nil possit suavius dulciusque excogitari.

Tuorum memor vulnerum. 15  
 Grates tantæ caritati  
 Nos agamus vulnerati :  
 O amator peccatorum,  
 Reparator confractorum,  
 O dulcis pater pauperum ! 20

Quidquid est in me confractum,  
 Dissipatum aut distractum,  
 Dulcis Jesu, totum sana,  
 Tu restaura, tu complana,  
 Tam pio medicamine 25  
 Te in tuâ cruce quæro,  
 Prout queo, corde mero ;  
 Me sanabis hic, ut spero,  
 Sana me, et salvus ero,  
 In tuo lavans sanguine. 30

Plagas tuas rubicundas,  
 Et fixuras tam profundas,  
 Cordi meo fac inscribi,  
 Ut configar totus tibi,  
 Te modis amans omnibus. 35  
 Dulcis Jesu, pie Deus,  
 Ad te clamo, licet reus,  
 Præbe mihi te benignum,  
 Ne repellas me indignum  
 De tuis sanctis pedibus. 40

Coram cruce procumbentem,  
 Hosque pedes complectentem,  
 Jesu bone, non me spernas,  
 Sed de cruce sanctâ cernas

Compassionis gratiâ. 45  
 In hâc cruce stans directè  
 Vide me, o mi dilecte,  
 Ad te totum me converte;  
 Esto sanus, dic apertè,  
 Dimitto tibi omnia. 50

## 2. AD FACIEM.

Salve, caput cruentatum,  
 Totum spinis coronatum,  
 Conquassatum, vulneratum  
 Arundine verberatum,  
 Facio sputis illitâ. 55  
 Salve, cujus dulcis vultus,  
 Immutatus et incultus,  
 Immutavit suum florem,  
 Totus versus in pallorem,  
 Quem cœli tremit curia. 60

Omnis vigor atque viror  
 Hinc recessit, non admiror,

---

51. *Salve, caput cruentatum*] I shall have occasion once or twice again to observe, as indeed I have observed already (p. 83), how these great hymns of the early or medieval Church served as the foundation of some of the noblest hymns which have been composed since the Reformation; how the later poet, no slavish copyist nor mere translator, has yet rejoiced to find his inspiration in these early sources. It has been so in the present instance. Paul Gerhard's Passion Hymn—

O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,  
 Voll Schmerz und voller Hohn!

is freely composed upon the model of what follows now.

Mors apparet in adspectu,  
Totus pendens in defectu,  
Attritus ægrâ macie. 65

Sic affectus, sic despectus,  
Propter me sic interfectus,  
Peccatori tam indigno  
Cum amoris intersigno  
Appare clarâ facie. 70

In hâc tuâ passione  
Me agnosce, Pastor bone,  
Cujus sumpsi mel ex ore,  
Haustum lactis cum dulcore,  
Præ omnibus deliciis. 75

Non me reum asperneris,  
Nec indignum dedigneris ;  
Morte tibi jam vicinâ  
Tuum caput hic inclina,  
In meis pausa brachiis. 80

Tuæ sanctæ passioni  
Me gauderem interponi,  
In hâc cruce tecum mori  
Præsta crucis amatori,  
Sub cruce tuâ moriar. 85

Morti tuæ tam amaræ  
Grates ago, Jesu care,  
Qui es clemens pie Deus,  
Fac quod petit tuus reus,  
Ut absque te non finiar. 90

Dum me mori est necesse,  
Noli mihi tune deesse ;

In tremendâ mortis horâ  
Veni, Jesu, absque morâ,  
Tuere me et libera.  
Cùm me jubes emigrare,  
Jesu care, tunc appare,  
O amator amplexende,  
Temetipsum tunc ostende  
In cruce salutiferâ.

---

95

100

## BONAVENTURA.

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**B**ONAVENTURA, a Tuscan by birth, was born in 1221, and educated at Paris, which was still the most illustrious school of theology in Europe. Entering the order of St Francis, he changed his family name, John of Fidanza, to that by which he is known to the after world. In 1245 he became himself professor of theology at Paris, in 1256 General of his Order, and in 1273 cardinal-bishop of Alba. He died in 1274 at Lyons, during the council which was held there, to which he had accompanied pope Gregory the 10th. At once a master in the scholastic and mystical theology, though far greater in the last, he received from the Church of the middle ages the title Doctor Seraphicus, and his own Order set him against the yet greater Dominican, Thomas Aquinas. His *Biblia Pauperum* is an honourable testimony to his zeal for the spread of Scriptural knowledge through the ministry of the Word among the common people: nor can any one have even that very slightest knowledge of his writings, which is all that I myself would claim, without entirest conviction that he who could thus write, must have possessed a richest personal familiarity with all the deeper mysteries of the spiritual life whereof he speaks. Yet this ought not to tempt us to deny, but rather the more freely to declare, that he shared, and shared largely, in the error as well as in the truth of his age. At the same time, if we except the *Psalter of the Virgin*, there is no work of his by which he could be so unfavourably known as his *Meditations on the*

*Life of Jesus Christ*, of which some may remember a most offensive reproduction a few years since in England. If indeed that *Psaltery of the Virgin* be his, of which happily there are very considerable doubts, it is too plain that he did not merely acquiesce in that amount of worship of the creature which he found, but was also its enthusiastic promoter to a yet higher and wilder pitch than before it had reached. Luther, who calls him, Bonaventura, præstantissimus vir, could scarcely have supposed that it was with any right attributed to him. His Latin poetry is good, but does not call for any especial criticism.

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## XIX. IN PASSIONE DOMINI.

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QUAM despectus, quàm dejectus,  
 Rex cœlorum est effectus,  
 Ut salvaret sæculum;  
 Esurivit et sitivit,  
 Pauper et egenus ivit  
 Usque ad patibulum.

Recordare paupertatis,  
 Et extremæ vilitatis,  
 Et gravis supplicii.  
 Si es compos rationis,  
 Esto memor passionis,  
 Fellis, et absinthii.



Cùm deductus est immensus,  
 Et in cruce tunc suspensus,  
 Fugerunt discipuli. 15

Manus, pedes perfoderunt,  
 Et aceto potaverunt  
 Summum Regem sæculi ;

Cujus oculi beati  
 Sunt in cruce obscurati, 20  
 Et vultus expalluit :  
 Suo corpori tunc nudo  
 Non remansit pulcritudo,  
 Decor omnis aufugit.

Qui hæc audis, ingemisce, 25  
 Et in istis planctum misce,  
 Et cordis mœstitias :  
 Corpus ange, corde plange,  
 Mentem frange, manu tange  
 Christi mortis sævitias. 30

Virum respice dolorum,  
 Et novissimum virorum,  
 Fortem ad supplicia.  
 Tibi gratum sit et æquum  
 Jam in cruce mori secum, 35  
 Compati convicia.

---

35. *secum*] All are aware that there are, even in the Latin of the best age, some slight anticipations of the breaking down of the distinction between the demonstrative and the reflective pronouns. (*Zumpt's Lat. Gramm.*, § 550.) In medieval Latin they are continually confounded, and the reflective put instead of the demonstrative, as here, and again in the next stanza.

Bone frater, quicquid agas,  
Crucifixi vide plagas,  
Et sibi compatere;  
Omni tempore sint tibi  
Quasi spiritales cibi;  
His gaudenter frueri.

Crucifixe, fac me fortem,  
Ut libenter tuam mortem  
Plangam, donec vixero.  
Tecum volo vulnerari,  
Te libenter amplexari  
In cruce desidero.

---

## BONAVENTURA.

---

### XX. DE PASSIONE DOMINI.

---

QUANTUM hamum caritas tibi præsentavit,  
Mori cùm pro homine te sollicitavit;  
Sed et escâ placidâ hamum occupavit,  
Cùm lucrari animas te per hoc monstravit.

Te quidem aculeus hami non latebat, 5  
Sed illius punctio te non deterrebat,  
Immo hunc impetere tibi complacebat,  
Quia desiderium escæ attrahebat.

Ergo pro me misero, quem tu dilexisti,  
Mortis in aculeum sciens impegisti, 10  
Cùm te Patri victimam sanctam obtulisti,  
Et in tuo sanguine sordidum lavisti.

Heu! cur beneficia Christi passionis  
Penes te memoriter, homo, non reponis?  
Per hanc enim rupti sunt laquei prædonis, 15  
Per hanc Christus maximis te ditavit bonis.

---

XX. *Bonaventuræ Opp.*, v. 6, p. 424; *Corner, Prompt. Devot.*,  
p. 117.

Suo quippe corpore languidum te pavit,  
Quem in suo sanguine gratis balneavit,  
Demum suum dulce cor tibi denudavit,  
Ut sic innotesceret quantum te amavit.

20

Oh! quàm dulce balneum, esca quàm suävis,  
Quæ sumenti dignè fit Paradisi clavis:  
Et ei quem reficis nullus labor gravis,  
Licet sis fastidio cordibus ignavis.

Cor ignavi siquidem minimè perpendit  
Ad quid Christus optimum suum cor ostendit,  
Super alas positum crucis, nec attendit  
Quod reclinatorii vices hoc prætendit.

25

Hoc reclinatorium quoties monstratur  
Piæ menti, toties ei glutinatur,  
Sicut et accipiter totus inescatur  
Super carnem rubeam, per quam revocatur.

30

---

## XXI. DE CORONA SPINEA.

SI vis verè gloriari,  
 Et à Deo coronari  
 Honore et gloriâ,  
 Hanc Coronam contemplari  
 Studeas, atque sectari 5  
 Portantis vestigia.

Hanc cœlorum Rex portavit,  
 Honoravit et sacravit  
 Sacro suo capite;  
 In hâc galeâ pugnavit, 10  
 Cùm antiquum hostem stravit,  
 Triumphans in stipite.

Hæc pugnantis galea,  
 Triumphantis laurea,  
 Tyara pontificis : 15

XXI. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, Paris, 1556, (not in the earlier editions.)—Balde has a series of brief poems on the several instruments of the passion, among which is the following upon the thorn-crown:

Hoc quale vides pressit Regem  
 Diadema tuum: fulget acutus  
 Utrunque lapis. Ferus In mediis  
 Sentibus istas reperit gemmas  
 Lictor, et alto vulnere fixit.  
 En ut radiant! rhamnus iaspis,  
 Paliurus onyx, spina smaragdus  
 Tanto posthac veriùs omnes,  
 Homo, divitias regnaque mundi  
 Opulenta potes dicere *Spinas*.

Primùm fuit spinea,  
Postmodum fit aurea  
Tactu sancti verticis.

Spinarum aculeos  
Virtus fecit aureos  
Christi passionis;  
Quæ peccatis spineos,  
Mortis æternæ reos,  
Adimplevit bonis.

20

De malis colligitur,  
Et de spinis plectitur  
Spinea perversis:  
Sed in aurum vertitur,  
Quando culpa tollitur,  
Eisdem conversis.

25

30

Jesu pic, Jesu bone,  
Nostro nobis in agone  
Largire victoriam;  
Mores nostros sic compone,  
Ut perpetuæ coronæ  
Mereamur gloriam.

35

---

36. *Mereamur*] It is hardly necessary to observe to any who have the slightest acquaintance with medieval Latin, that *mereor* in it is continually used in the sense simply of *to obtain*, without in the least implying any *merit* as the ground of that obtaining. The implied merit, which of course originally belonged to the word, has fallen quite out of sight.

---

## XXII. DE PASSIONE DOMINI.

ECQUIS binas columbinas  
Alas dabit animæ?

Ut in almam crucis palmam

Evolet citissimè,

In quâ Jesus totus læsus,

5

Orbis desiderium,

Et immensus est suspensus,

Factus improprium!

Oh cor, scande; Jesu, pande

Caritatis viscera,

10

Et profundè me reconde

Intra sacra vulnera;

In supernâ me cavernâ

Colloca maceriæ;

Hic viventi, quiescenti

15

Finis est miseræ!

XXII. [Walraff,] *Corolla Hymnorum*, p. 16; Daniel, *Theol. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 345.—This exceedingly graceful little poem, which, to judge from internal evidence, is of no great antiquity, I am not able to give any satisfactory account of. I have only met it twice, as noted above, and in neither case with any indication of its source or age. It is certainly of a very rare perfection in its kind.

8. *improprium*] = *convicium*, *derisio*, and probably connected with *probrum*, is a word peculiar to Church Latin. It occurs several times in the Vulgate, as Rom. xv. 3; Heb. xi. 26. The verb *improperare* = *ὀνειδίζειν*, is used by Petronius.

13, 14. *cavernâ...maceriæ*] He alludes to Cant. ii. 14. (Vulg.):



O mi Deus, amor meus!  
 Tune pro me pateris?  
 Proque indigno, crucis ligno,  
 Jesu mi, suffigeris? 20  
 Pro latrone, Jesu bone,  
 Tu in crucem tolleris?  
 Pro peccatis meis gratis,  
 Vita mea, moreris?

Non sum tanti, Jesu, quanti 25  
 Amor tuus æstimat;  
 Heu! cur ego vitam dego,  
 Si cor te non redamat?  
 Benedictus sit invictus  
 Amor vincens omnia; 30  
 Amor fortis, tela mortis  
 Reputans ut somnia.

Iste fecit, et refecit  
 Amor, Jesu, perditum;  
 O insignis, Amor, ignis, 35  
 Cor accende frigidum!  
 O fac verè cor ardere,  
 Fac me te diligere,  
 Da conjungi, da defungi  
 Tecum, Jesu, et vivere! 40

---

Columba mea in foraminibus petrae, in cavernâ maceræ: on which words St Bernard writes (*In Cant.*, Serm. 61): Foramina petrae, vulnera Christi. In his passer invenit sibi domum et turtur nidum, ubi reponat pullos suos: in his se columba tutatur, et circumvolitantem intuetur accipitrem.

## FORTUNATUS.

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### XXIII. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

---

SALVE, festa dies, toto venerabilis ævo,  
Quâ Deus infernum vicit, et astra tenet.  
Ecce renascentis testatur gratia mundi  
Omnia cum Domino dona redîsse suo.  
Namque triumphanti post tristia tartara Christo 5  
Undique fronde nemus, gramina flore favent.  
Legibus inferni oppressis super astra meantem  
Laudant rite Deum lux, polus, arva, fretum.  
Qui crucifixus erat, Deus ecce per omnia regnat,  
Dantque Creatori cuncta creata precem. 10

---

XXIII. Creuzer, *Symbolik*, v. 4, p. 742; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 170.

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## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XXIV. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

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MUNDI renovatio  
Nova parit gaudia,  
Resurgente Domino  
Conresurgunt omnia:  
Elementa serviunt,  
Et Auctoris sentiunt  
Quanta sint sollemnia.

5

Ignis volat mobilis,  
Et aër volubilis,  
Fluit aqua labilis,  
Terra manet stabilis,  
Alta petunt levia,  
Centrum tenent gravia,  
Renovantur omnia.

10

---

XXIV. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 168; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 68.—The thought of the coincidence of the natural and spiritual spring, the falling in of the world's Easter and the Church's, and of the ἀπαρχαὶ of both, which is the underlying thought of this and the last poem, comes beautifully out in a noble Easter Sermon, to which Creuzer refers, by Gregory of Nazianzum, in which he exclaims: Νῦν ἔαρ κοσμικόν, ἔαρ πνευματικόν· ἔαρ ψυχᾶς, ἔαρ σώμασιν· ἔαρ ὁρώμενον, ἔαρ ἀόρατον.

Coelum fit serenius, 15  
Et mare tranquillius,  
Spirat aura levius,  
Vallis nostra floruit;  
Revirescunt arida,  
Recalescunt frigida, 20  
Quia ver intepuit.

Gelu mortis solvitur,  
Princeps mundi tollitur,  
Et ejus destruitur  
In nobis imperium; 25  
Dum tenere voluit  
In quo nihil habuit,  
Jus amisit proprium.

Vita mortem superat;  
Homo jam recuperat, 30  
Quod prius amiserat,  
Paradisi gaudium.  
Viam præbet facilem  
Cherubim, versatilem,  
Ut Deus promiserat, 35  
Amovendo gladium.

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34. *versatilem*] Gen. iii. 24. (Vulg.)

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## XXV. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

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HÆC est dies triumphalis,  
 Mundo grata perdito,  
 Dans solamen nostris malis,  
 Hoste jugo subdito.  
 Hæc est dies specialis,  
 Tanto nitens merito,  
 Quòd peccati fit finalis,  
 Mali malo irritò.

5

Duce fraudis demolito  
 Terris pax indicitur,  
 Et exhausto aconito  
 Salus ægris redditur:  
 Morte mortis morsu trito  
 Vitæ spes infunditur,  
 Claustro pestis inanito  
 Nefas omne pellitur.

10

15

Cùm nos Christus fecundare  
 Tanto vellet fœdere,

---

XXV. Flacius Illyricus, *Poëmata de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, Basle, 1556, p. 71.

17, 18. *fecundare...fœdere*] This at first sight seems a strange mixture of metaphors; but by *fœdus* doubtless the poet means the marriage-union betwixt the Church or single soul and its Lord,

Et se morti gratis dare  
Pro reorum scelere, 20  
Jure decet hunc laudare,  
Et ei consurgere,  
Pascha novum celebrare  
Corde, voce, et opere.

---

whereby the former is made fruitful (fecundata,) and enabled to bring forth spiritual children to him. Thus Hugh of St Victor : Quatuor sunt propter quæ anima dicitur sponsa . . . and then among these four : proles virtutum, quibus fecundata est divini Verbi dogmate.

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## PETER THE VENERABLE.

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### XXVI. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

---

**M**ORTIS portis fractis, fortis  
Fortior vim sustulit;  
Et per crucem regem truce[m]  
Infernorum perculit.  
Lumen clarum tenebrarum  
Sedibus resplenduit;  
Dum salvare, recreare,  
Quod creavit, voluit.  
Hinc Creator, ne peccator  
Moreretur, moritur;  
Cujus morte novâ sorte  
Vita nobis oritur.  
Inde Sathan victus gemit,  
Undo Victor nos redemit;  
Illud illi fit letale,  
Quod est homini vitale,  
Qui, dum captat, capitur,  
Et, dum mactat, moritur.  
Sic decenter, sic potenter  
Rex devincens inferos,

---



Linquens ima die primâ,

Rediit ad superos.

Resurrexit, et revexit

Secum Deus hominem,

Reparando quam creando

25

Dederat originem.

Per Auctoris passionem

Ad amissam regionem

Primus redit nunc colonus:

Unde lætus fit hic sonus.

30

---

## XXVII. IN RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

PONE luctum, Magdalena,  
 Et serena lacrymas;  
 Non est jam Simonis cœna,  
 Non cur fletum exprimas;  
 Causæ mille sunt lætandi,  
 Causæ mille exultandi:  
 Alleluia resonet.

5

Sume risum, Magdalena,  
 Frons nitescat lucida;  
 Demigravit omnis pœna,  
 Lux coruscat fulgida;  
 Christus mundum liberavit,  
 Et de morte triumphavit:  
 Alleluia resonet.

10

Gaude, plaude, Magdalena,  
 Tumbâ Christus exiit,  
 Tristis est peracta scena,  
 Victor mortis rediit;  
 Quem deflebas morientem,  
 Nunc arride resurgentem:  
 Alleluia resonet.

15

20

Tolle vultum, Magdalena,  
Redivivum obstupe;  
Vide frons quàm sit amœna,  
Quinque plagas aspice, 25  
Fulgent sicut margaritæ,  
Ornamenta novæ vitæ:  
Alleluia resonet.

Vive, vive, Magdalena,  
Tua lux reversa est, 30  
Gaudiis turgescat vena,  
Mortis vis abstersa est;  
Mœsti procul sunt dolores,  
Læti redeant amores:  
Alleluia resonet. 35

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## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XXVIII. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

---

**E**CCE dies celebris !  
Lux succedit tenebris,  
Morti resurrectio.  
Lætis cedant tristia,  
Cùm sit major gloria,  
Quàm prima confusio.  
Umbram fugat veritas,  
Vetustatem novitas,  
Luctum consolatio.

Pascha novum colite ;  
Quod præit in capite,  
Membra sperent singula ;  
Pascha novum Christus est,  
Qui pro nobis passus est,  
Agnus sine maculâ.

Hostis, qui nos circuit,  
Prædam Christus eruit :

---

Quod Samson præcinuit,  
 Dum leonem lacerat.  
 David fortis viribus 20  
 A leonis unguibus,  
 Et ab ursi faucibus,  
 Gregem Patris liberat.

Qui in morte plures stravit,  
 Samson, Christum figuravit, 25  
 Cujus mors victoria:  
 Samson dictus Sol eorum;  
 Christus lux est electorum,  
 Quos illustrat gratia.

Jam de crucis sacro vecte 30  
 Botrus fluit in dilectæ

24—26. *mors victoria*] Our Lord's ministry during his life bore scanty fruits compared to the large incomings through the after-preaching of his cross. Gregory the Great (*Moral.*, l. 29, c. 14): Pauci enim ex plebe Israeliticâ ipso prædicante crediderunt: innumeri verò gentium populi viam vitæ moriente illo secuti sunt. Quòd bene Samson in semetipso dudum figuraliter expressit, qui paucos quidem, dum viveret, interemit; destructo autem templo, hostes innumeros, cùm moreretur, occidit.

27. *Sol eorum*] This quite unwarrantable etymology of Samson's name the poet has derived from Jerome, who (*De Nom. Heb.*) explains Samson: *Sol eorum*, vel solis fortitudo—their light, or, the light of them that are his. Thus Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. lxxx. 10*): Unde Samson noster, qui etiam interpretatur *Sol ipsorum*, eorum scilicet quibus lucet; non omnium, sicuti est oriens super bonos et malos, sed sol quorundam, sol justitiæ, figuram enim habebat Christi.

31. *Botrus*] Among the Old Testament types of Christ and his cross, that of Num. xiii. 23, 24, was ever counted as one: thus

Penetral Eeclesiæ.  
 Jam calcato torculari,  
 Musto gaudent ebriari  
 Gentium primitiæ.

35

Saccus scissus et pertusus  
 In regales transit usus;  
 Saccus fit soccus gratiæ,  
 Caro victrix miseriæ.  
 Quia regem peremerunt,  
 Rei regnum perdiderunt:  
 Sed non deletur penitus  
 Cain, in signum positus.

40

Hugh of St Victor (*Inst. Mor.*, l. 4): Christus est Botrus de terrâ promissionis in desertum translatus; the type of the cross being the pole on which this bunch of grapes was suspended. Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. viii. 1*): Nam et Verbum divinum potest *Uva* intelligi. Dictus est enim et Dominus botrus uva, quem ligno suspensum, de terrâ promissionis, qui præmissi erant à populo Israel, tanquam crucifixum, attulerunt. In Christ's passion this bunch of grapes was trodden as in the winepress, and his blood as the wine flowed into the *penetral* or *ὑπολήνιον* of the Church.

36—38. *Saccus scissus*] The poet has in his eye *Ps. xxix. 12*, (Vulg.) xxx. 11 (E. V.): Concidisti saccum meum, et circumdedisti me lætitiâ; upon which words Augustine (*Serm. 336, c. 4*): Saccus ejus erat similitudo carnis peccati. In passione conscissus est saccus. And then presently, with allusion to the *saccus* as the purse or bag of money: Concidit saccum lanceâ persecutor, et fudit pretium nostrum Redemptor.—Clichtoveus: *In regales transit usus*, quando per resurrectionem immortalitatis stolâ corpus est indutum, et incorruptibilitatis virtute præinctum.

43. *in signum positus*] The poet having only the Vulgate before him, in which he found (*Gen. iv. 15*), the words, Posuitque Dominus Cain signum, (Cain being undeclined by the translator,) seems to have understood the passage thus: "The Lord set Cain

Reprobatus et abjectus  
Lapis iste, nunc electus, 45  
In tropæum stat erectus,  
Et in caput anguli.  
Culpam delens non naturam,  
Novam creat creaturam,  
Tenens in se ligaturam 50  
Utriusque populi.

Capiti sit gloria  
Membrisque concordia! Amen.

---

for a sign," instead of "The Lord set a mark or sign upon Cain." His application of these words to the Jewish people, as the great collective Cain, the murderer of him whose blood spake better things than that of Abel, is one in which he had many forerunners. They too, it was said, were not destroyed, but while other nations were fused and absorbed and lost in the great Roman world, they abode apart, being not slain, despite their sin, but set for an everlasting sign. Thus Augustine; who even in his time found a wonderful significance in this continued and separate existence of the Jews, and therein a prophetic fulfilment of these words of Genesis, as also of those words of the Psalmist: "Slay them not, lest my people forget it." (*Con. Faust.*, l. 12, c. 13; *Enarr. in Ps.* lviii. 12.)



## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XXIX. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.

---

**Z**YMA vetus expurgetur,  
Ut sincerè celebretur  
Nova resurrectio.  
Hæc est dies nostræ spei,  
Hujus mira vis dici  
Legis testimonio.

5

Hæc Ægyptum spoliavit,  
Et Hebræos liberavit  
De fornace ferreâ :  
His in arcto constitutis  
Opus erat servitutis  
Lutum, later, palea.

10

---

XXIX. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 169; Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 290; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 69.—Clichtoveus says truly here: Sanè hæc prosa admodum divina est, paucis multa complectens, et tota ex sacris literis præclarè desumpta, cujus et historias et sententias congruenter copioseque adaptat proposito, ut hoc suo opificio auctor ipsius liquidò prodatur in divinis Scripturis apprime exercitatum et promptum fuisse.

12. *Lutum, later, palea*] Cf. Exod. i. 14; v. 12. In the "mortar," "brick," and "straw" were often seen, as here, the several works of the old man, while he is yet serving sin in the

Jam divinæ laus virtutis,  
 Jam triumphi, jam salutis  
 Vox erumpat libera: 15  
 Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus,  
 Dies nostri doloris terminus,  
 Dies salutifera.

Lex est umbra futurorum,  
 Christus finis promissorum,  
 Qui consummat omnia. 20  
 Christi sanguis igneam  
 Hebetavit rhomphæam,  
 Amotâ custodiâ.

Puer, nostri forma risûs,  
 Pro quo vervex est occisus, 25  
 Vitæ signat gaudium.

---

spiritual Egypt. Thus Hugh of St Victor (*Alleg.*, l. 3, c. 1): Lutum, in quo servierunt filii Israel Pharaoni, eo quod lutum inquinat, luxuriam designat. Palea, eo quod levis est, et citò transvolat, vanam gloriam significat. Later quoque, qui de molli terrâ confectus, per decoctionem ignis durescit, humani cordis duritiam, per longam sive concupiscentiæ, sive libidinis, aut avaritiæ consuetudinem decoctam ostendit.

16. Cf. Ps. cxvii. 24, (Vulg.)

24. *risûs*] Daniel has made this verse unintelligible, printing *visus*, whether by mistake, or intending a correction. The emendation, if such it be, and no mere error of the press, rests on an entire ignorance of that ever-recurring thought in early and medieval theology, of Christ as our Isaac, in that he made us to laugh, and thus, our *laughter*, with allusion to Gen. xxi. 6 (Vulg.): Risum fecit mihi Deus: quicumque audierit, corridebit mihi. Thus Ambrose (*De Isaac et Animâ*, c. 1): Ipso nomine gratiam signat, Isaac etenim *risus* Latine significatur, risus autem insigne lætitiæ est. Quis autem ignorat quod is universorum lætitia sit,

Joseph exit de cisternâ,  
Christus redit ad superna  
Post mortis supplicium.

Hic dracones Pharaonis  
Draco vorat, à draconis  
Immunis malitiâ.

30

Quos ignitus vulnerat,  
Hos serpentis liberat  
Ænci præsentia.

35

Anguem forat in maxillâ  
Christus, hamus et armilla ;

qui mortis formidolosæ vel pavore compresso, factus omnibus est remissio peccatorum? That the thought was a familiar one with our poet we have proof in another poem of his, which will appear in this volume, and in which he expresses himself thus :

Prole serâ tandem fœta,  
Anus Sata ridet læta,  
Nostrum lætans Gaudium.

The use of *forma* in this line as equivalent to *figura*, τύπος, is not unfrequent. Thus Hugh of St Victor: Melchisedek, qui est *forma* Christi.

37. *hamus et armilla*] Cf. Job xl. 20, 21, (Vulg.) Job xli. 1, 2, (E. V.) where the Lord asks of Job, An extrahere poteris Leviathan hamo, et fune ligabis linguam ejus? Numquid pones circulum in naribus ejus, aut armillâ perforabis maxillam ejus? This question, by the help of Isai. xxvii. 1, ("Leviathan that crooked serpent") was mystically interpreted, Wilt thou dare to contend with, or hope a successful issue in thy conflict with, Satan and the powers of spiritual wickedness? (See Jerome on Isai. xxvii. 1.) But this, which a mortal man like Job could not do, Christ did. He did "draw out Leviathan with a hook." It is a favourite thought with Gregory the Great and many others, that Christ's humanity was as the bait which Satan seized, not perceiving the hook for his jaws, which lay beneath, in Christ's latent Divinity. Thus, *Moral.*, l. 33, c. 7: In hamo ergo ejus incarna-

In cavernam reguli  
 Manum mittit ablactatus,  
 Et sic fugit exturbatus 40  
 Vetus hospes sæculi.

Irrisores Helisæi,  
 Dum conscendit domum Dei,  
 Zelum calvi sentiunt.  
 David arreptitius, 45

tionis captus est, quia dum in illo appetit escam corporis, transfixus est aculeo divinitatis. Ibi quippe inerat humanitas, quæ ad se devorantem duceret: ibi divinitas quæ perforaret: ibi aperta infirmitas quæ provocaret: ibi occulta virtus, quæ raptoris faucem transfigeret. In hamo igitur captus est: quia inde interiit unde devoravit.

33. *reguli*] *Regulus*, as the diminutive of *rex*, will exactly answer to βασιλίσκος, which word we possess in English, applying the name *basilisk* to a serpent which has some crownlike, and so kingly, marks upon its head; Pliny (*H. N.*, l. 8, c. 33): Candidâ in capite maculâ, ut quodam diademate insignis. Cf. Gregory the Great (*Moral.*, l. 15, c. 15): *Regulus* namque serpentum rex dicitur. These lines must be explained by Isai. xi. 8 (Vulg.): Et in cavernam reguli qui ablactatus est, manum suam mittet. Christ, according to the favourite interpretation of the Fathers, was "the weaned child;" this evil world the cockatrice's hole into which he thrust in his hand, dragging out Satan from his lurking-place and den. Thus Jerome, *in loc.*, and Gregory the Great, *Moral.*, l. 26, c. 32.

42—44. *Helisæi*] Hugh of St Victor: Eliseus interpretatur salus Dei. Huic, id est, Christo, illuserunt Judæi exaltato in cruce....Sed postquam Christus ascendit in Bethel, id est, in domum Dei, in quadragesimo anno immisit duos ursos de filiis gentium, Vespasianum et Titum, qui crudeli strage eos dejecerunt. Cf. Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* xliv. in init.

45. *arreptitius*] Daniel reads *anēptitius*—a non-existent word; but afterwards suggests, in a supplement to his third volume, p. 271, that *arreptitius* is probably the right reading. This is

Hireus emissarius,  
Et passer effugiunt.

In maxillâ mille sternit,  
Et de tribu suâ spernit  
Samson matrimoniū :  
Samson Gasæ seras pandit,  
Et asportans portas scandit  
Montis supercilium.

50

Sic de Judâ Leo fortis,  
Fractis portis diræ mortis,  
Die surgit tertiâ.  
Rugiente voce Patris,

55

careless enough, seeing that all editions of Clichtoveus,— the three at least that I know,— had so given the passage from the first. Nor can there be any doubt that *arreptitius* (= *arreptus* *furor*,) is the right reading. The allusion is to 1 Sam. xxi. 14, where instead of the *Vidistis hominem insanum* ? of the Vulgate, the older Latin Version must have had *arreptitium*. This is plain from Augustine, *Enarr.* 1<sup>a</sup> in *Ps.* xxxiii., where we have a long exposition of the mystery of David's supposed madness, and the prophecy which was herein of Christ, of whom the people said, "He is mad, and hath a devil." David's escape from the presence of Achish is Christ's escape at his resurrection from the Jews. Augustine uses again the word *arreptitius*, *De Civ. Dei*, l. 2, c. 4.— Daniel is again at fault, when in the next line but one, *Et passer effugiunt* : he makes his reference to *Ps.* xi. 1 : *Transmigra in montem sicut passer*. It should clearly have been to *Lev.* xiv. 49—53.

51. *Gasæ seras*] Thus Hugh of St Victor : Samson apportans portas Gazæ ascendit montis supercilium, et Christus, fractis portis inferni, ascendit in cælum. The typical character of what Samson did, is brought out more at length and with admirable skill by Gregory the Great, *Hom.* 21 in *Evang.* ; and by Augustine, *Serm.* 364.

57. *Rugiente*] I have spoken already, p. 67, of the medieval

Ad supernæ sinum matris  
Tot revexit spolia.

Cetus Jonam fugitivum, 60  
Veri Jonæ signativum,  
Post tres dies reddit vivum  
De ventris angustiâ.  
Botrus Cypri reflorescit,  
Dilatatur et excrescit: 65  
Synagogæ flos marcescit,  
Et floret Ecclesia.

Mors et vita confluxere,  
Resurrexit Christus verè,

legend of the lion rousing its dead whelps by its roar. Thus Hugh of St Victor (*De Best.*, l. 2, c. 1): Cum leena parit, suos catulos mortuos parit, et ita custodit tribus diebus, donec veniens pater eorum in faciem eorum exhalet, ut vivificentur. Sic omnipotens Pater Filium suum tertiâ die suscitavit à mortuis. And Hildebert (*De Leone*):

Natus non vigilat dum sol se tertiò gyrat,  
Sed dans rugitum pater ejus suscitât illum:  
Tunc quasi vivescit, tunc sensus quinque capescit;  
Et quotiens dormit sua nunquam lumina claudit.

This last line expresses another belief, namely that the lion slept with its eyes open: which open eyes were a further emblem of that life of Christ's divine nature which ran uninterrupted through the three days' sleep of his body in the grave. They quoted in regard of this the words of the Canticles (v. 2): "I sleep, but my heart waketh."—It need hardly be said that the *mater* in the verse following, is the new Jerusalem, "the mother of us all."

64. *Botrus Cypri*] Cf. Cant. i. 13, (Vulg.) i. 14 (E. V.): Botrus Cypri dilectus mihi, in vineis Engaddi: on which Bernard (*In Cant.*, *Serm.* 44) with allusion to the verse preceding, "A bundle of myrrh is my beloved unto me:" Dominus meus Jesus myrrha mihi in morte, botrus in resurrectione.

Et cum Christo surrexere  
Multi testes gloriæ. 70

Mane novum, mane lætum,  
Vespertinum tergat fletum;  
Quia vita vicit letum,  
Tempus est lætitiæ. 75

Jesu victor, Jesu vita,  
Jesu, vitæ via trita,  
Cujus morte mors sopita,  
Ad paschalem nos invita  
Mensam cum fiduciâ! 80  
Vivo panis, vivax unda,  
Vera vitis et fœcunda,  
Tu nos pasce, tu nos munda,  
Ut à morte nos secundâ  
Tua salvet gratia! 85

---

72, 73. The allusion is to Pa. xxix. 6, (Vulg.) xxx. 5 (E. V.): Ad vesperum demorabitur fletus, et ad matutinum lætitia; in which words has been often found a prophecy of Christ, turning by his resurrection the night of sorrow for his disciples into the morning of joy. Thus Augustine, (*in loc.*) who carries on his thought to yet another morning of joy, after a yet longer night of weeping: Matutinum, quo exsultatio resurrectionis futura est, quæ in matutinâ Domini resurrectione præfloruit.

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## XXX. DE SPIRITU SANCTO.

---

**V**ENI, Creator Spiritus,  
 Spiritus recreator,  
 Tu dans, tu datus cœlitus,  
 Tu donum, tu donator :  
 Tu lex, tu digitus, 5  
 Alens et alitus,  
 Spirans et spiritus,  
 Spiratus et spirator.

Tu septiformis gratiæ  
 Dans septiforme donum, 10

---

XXX. Flacius Illyricus, *Poëmm. de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, p. 66.

4. *Tu donum*] The middle-age theology made much of the term *donum*, as being always a *nomen proprium* of the third Person of the Holy Trinity. He was not *a* gift, but *the* gift of God, in so high and exclusive a sense, that the term competed only to him, and thus became his proper name. See an interesting discussion by Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.*, *pars 1<sup>a</sup>*, *Qu.* 38) : Spiritui S. donum est proprium nomen, et personale.

5. *lex*] *Rex* in the volume of Flacius Illyricus, where only I have seen this hymn, yet I cannot doubt that *lex* is the right reading. In the two preceding and two following lines there is an evident antithesis, and plainly one intended also here; but what such would there be between *rex* and *digitus*? not to say that *rex* is a title nowhere specially applied to the Holy Spirit. But the antithesis comes excellently out when we read : *Tu lex, tu digitus* : "Thou the law, the living law, and the finger which writes that law,"—with allusion to such promises as that contained Heb. viii. 10.

9—12. We find continually in medieval theology, the seven-

Virtutis septifariæ,  
 Septem petitionum.  
 Tu nix non defluens,  
 Ignis non destruens,  
 Pugil non metuens,  
 Propinator sermonum.

15

Ergo accende sensibus,  
 Tu, te, lumen et flamen,  
 Tu te inspira cordibus,  
 Qui es vitæ spiramen.  
 Tu sol, tu radius,  
 Mittens et nuncius,  
 Persona tertius,  
 Salva nos. Amen.

20

---

fold grace of the Holy Spirit, (Isai. ii. 2,) brought as here into connection with the seven beatitudes, (the *virtus septifaria*,) and with the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer. Thus Anselm, in a Sermon on the Beatitudes (*Hom. 2*): *Superna Gratia salutis nostræ providens orationem nobis contulit, in quâ septiformi prece Spiritum septiformem possemus impetrare; ut suffragio gratiæ septiformis septem supradictas virtutes assequamur: et per eas ad beatitudinem pertingere mereamur.* So too Hugh of St Victor: *Septem ergo petitiones in Dominicâ Oratione ponuntur, ut septem dona mereamur Spiritûs Sancti, quibus recipiamus septem virtutes, per quas, à septem vitiis liberati, ad septem perveniamus beatitudines.*

16. *Propinator sermonum*] Cf. Luke xxi. 15.

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## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XXXI. DE SPIRITU SANCTO.

---

SIMPLEX in essentiâ,  
S Septiformis gratiâ,  
Nos illustret Spiritus :  
Cordis lustret tenebras,  
Et carnis illecebras,  
Lux emissa cœlitus.

5

Lex præcessit in figurâ,  
Lex pœnalis, lex obscura,

---

XXXI. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 178.

7—28. These stanzas are in the true spirit of St Augustine, and hardly to be fully understood without reference to his writings, and to the points which he makes, especially in his Anti-pelagian tracts; wherein he continually contrasts, as the poet does here, the killing letter of the Old, and the quickening spirit of the New, Covenant. A few chapters, indeed, of his treatise *De Spiritu et Litterâ*, c. 13—17, would form the best commentary on these lines which could be found. The first point which the poet makes, is the contrast between the giving of the law *de monte*, and the giving of the Spirit *in cœnaculo*. In other words, there it was a God far off who uttered his voice, and that which he spake only set men the further from him, (Exod xx. 18,) while here it was a God coming into the very midst of them, yea, into that upper-chamber itself. Thus Augustine, c. 17: *In hâc mirabili congruentiâ illud certè plurimùm distat, quod ibi populus accedere ad locum ubi lex*

Lumen evangelicum.  
 Spiritualis intellectus, 10  
 Literali fronde tectus,  
 Prodeat in publicum.

Lex de monte populo,  
 Paucis in cœnaculo  
 Nova datur gratia : 15  
 Situs docet nos locorum  
 Præceptorum vel donorum  
 Quæ sit eminentia.

Ignis, clangor buccinæ,  
 Fragor cum caligine, 20  
 Lampadum discursio,  
 Terrorem incutiunt ;

dabatur, horrendo terrore prohibetur : hic autem in eos supervenit Spiritus Sanctus, qui cum promissum expectantes in unum fuerant congregati. This, the poet adds, still in the spirit of his great teacher, shews whether are better, *precepts* or *gifts*, (ver. 17,) the precepts of the old law, or the gifts of the new—a God requiring as of old, or a God giving as now—requiring indeed still, but only what he himself has first given. The fearful accompaniments of the law's promulgation, he goes on to say, (ver. 19—24,) were but the outward clothing of the eternal truth, "The law worketh wrath." A law of fear, it may restrain indeed acts of sin, the *illicita*, but does not and cannot beget that love in which alone is the fulfilling of the commandment. (ver. 25—28.) That can only be through the Holy Ghost, whose first giving we on this day commemorate.

19, 20. Cf. Exod. xix. 16. (Vulg.)

21. *Lampadum*] Cf. Exod. xx. 18 (Vulg.): Cunctus autem populus videbat voces et lampades (λαμπάδας LXX.) The word *lampades*, signifying, as it may, the bickering meteoric flames, perhaps better expresses what is meant than the "lightnings," by which the English Version has rendered the original word.

Nec amorem nutriunt,  
Quem effudit unctio.

Sic in Sinâ lex divina 25  
Reis est imposita,  
Lex timoris non amoris  
Puniens illicita.

Ecce patres praelecti 30  
Dii recentes sunt effecti,  
Culpæ solvunt vincula:  
Pluunt verbo, tonant minis,

---

32. *Pluunt—tonant*] Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. lxxxviii. 7*): Prædicatores nubes esse dictas ex illâ prophetiâ intelligimus, ubi Deus iratus vineæ suæ dicit, Mandabo nubibus meis ne pluant super eam imbrem, Isai. v. 6: which words Augustine found fulfilled when the apostles said, "Lo, we turn to the Gentiles." (Acts xiii. 46.) Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral.*, l. 27, c. 24. And thus in another hymn on St Peter and St Paul, Adam of St Victor has these noble stanzas:

Hi sunt nubes coruscantes,  
Terram cordis irrigantes  
Nunc rore, nunc pluvîâ:  
Hi præcones novæ legis,  
Et ductores novi gregis  
Ad Christi præsepia.

Ipsi montes appellantur,  
Ipsi prius illustrantur  
Veri Solis lumine.  
Mira virtus est eorum,  
Firmamenti vel cœlorum  
Designantur nomine.

We may compare Damiani:

Paule, doctor egregie,  
Tuba clangens Ecclesiæ,  
Nubes volans ac tonitrum  
Per amplum mundi circulum;

Novis linguis et doctrinis  
Consonant miracula.

Exhibentes ægris curam, 35  
Morbum damnant non naturam;  
Persequentes scelera,  
Reos premunt et castigant;  
Modò solvunt, modò ligant,  
Potestate liberâ. 40

Typum gerit jubilæi  
Dies iste, si diei  
Requiris mysteria,  
In quo tribus millibus  
Ad fidem currentibus 45  
Pullulat Ecclesia.

---

Nobis potenter intona,  
Ruraque cordis irriga;  
Cœlestis imbre gratiæ  
Mentes virescant arida.

41. *jubilæi*] The poet has a true insight into the typical significance of the year of jubilee, the great Pentecostal year, the year of restitution and restoration, in which every man came to his own, all yokes were broken, and all which any Israelite had forfeited and alienated, was given back to him once more. He sees in it rightly a type and a prophecy of that great epoch of recreation and restoration, which at Pentecost began. Durandus (*Rational.*, l. 6, c. 107): Similiter in diebus Pentecostes hunc numerum post Domini resurrectionem observamus, suscipientes advenientem in nos Spiritus Sancti gratiam, per quem efficimur filii Dei, et virtutum possessio nobis restituitur, et remissa culpa, et totius debiti chirographo evacuato, ab omni servitutis nexu liberi efficimur. The poet's etymology of the word, however, in the next stanza, namely, that it is either *dimittens* or *mutatus*, the year of remission, or the year when all things are *changed* for the better, has long since been given up.

Jubileus est vocatus  
Vel dimittens vel mutatus,  
Ad priores vocans status  
Res distractas liberè.  
Nos distractos sub peccatis  
Liberet lex caritatis,  
Et perfectæ libertatis  
Dignos reddat munere.

50



## HILDEBERT.

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**H**ILDEBERT, born in 1057, shared, as the scholar of Berengarius, in all the highest culture of his age; and having himself taught theology for a while at Mans, was in 1097 made bishop of that see, and in 1125 became archbishop of Tours. A wise and gentle prelate, although not wanting in courage to dare, and fortitude to endure, when the cause of truth required it, he must ever be esteemed one of the fairest ornaments of the French Church. In his *Letters* he more than once seeks earnestly to check some of the superstitions of his time, as, for instance, the exaggerated value attributed to pilgrimages made to the Holy Land, and to the shrines of saints. He died in 1134. There is an interesting sketch of his character and of his work in the new edition of Neander's *Life of St Bernard*, pp. 447—458.

His verses amount, as the Benedictine editors calculate, to ten thousand or more. The enforced leisure of imprisonments and exiles may have given him opportunity for composing so many. Of these a great number consist of versifications of scriptural history, or of the legends of saints, in heroic or elegiac verse, sometimes rhyming and sometimes not, and possess a very slight value. More curious than these is a legendary life of Mahomet, whereof Ampère (t. 3, p. 440) has given a brief analysis; and his lines on the death of his master Berengarius display true feeling, and a very deep affection; however hard we may

find it to go along, in every particular, with praise such as this :

Cujus cura sequi naturam, legibus uti,  
Et mentem vitiis, *ora negare dolis*;  
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falso,  
Nil vacuum sensu dicere, nil facere.

Two or three further specimens of his poetry will shew that he could versify with no inconsiderable elegance and ease, as the following lines from a poem in praise of England :

Anglia, terra ferax, tibi pax diuturna quietem,  
Multiplicem luxum merx opulenta dedit.  
Tu nimio nec stricta gelu, nec sidere fervens,  
Clementi cœlo temperieque places.  
Cum pareret Natura parens, varioque favore  
Divideret dotes omnibus una locis,  
Elegit potiora tibi, matremque professa,  
Insula sis locuples, plenaque pacis, ait,  
Quidquid luxus amat, quidquid desiderat usus,  
Ex te proveniet, aut aliunde tibi.  
Te siquidem, licet occiduo sub sole latentem,  
Quæret et inveniet merce beata ratis: &c.

And the following have a real energy. They make part of the soul's complaint against the tyranny of the flesh:

Angustæ fragilisque domûs jam jamque ruentis  
Hospita, servili conditione premor.  
Triste jugum cervice gero, gravibusque catenis  
Proh dolor! ad mortem non moritura trabor.  
Hei mihi! quàm docilis falli, quàm prompta subire  
Turpia, quàm velox ad mea damna fui.

But grander still are the lines which follow. I have not inserted them in the body of this collection; for, thus, I might have seemed to claim for them that entire sympathy which I am very far from doing. Yet, believing as we may, and, to give any meaning to a large period of Church history, we must, that Papal Rome of the middle ages had a work of God to accomplish for the taming of a violent and brutal world, in the midst of which she often lifted up the only voice which was any where heard in behalf of righteousness and truth—all which we may believe, with the

fullest sense that her dominion was a wicked usurpation, however overruled for good to Christendom, which could then take no higher blessing,—believing this, we may freely admire these lines, which so nobly tell of that true strength of spiritual power, which may be perfected in the utmost weakness of all other power. It is the city of Rome which is supposed to be speaking :

Dum simulacra mihi, dum numina vana placerent,  
 Militia, populo, incenibus alta fui :  
 At simul effigies, arasque superstitiosas  
 Dejiciens, uni sum famulata Deo ;  
 Cesserunt arces, cecidere palatia Divûm,  
 Servivit populus, degeneravit eques.  
 Vix scio quæ fuerim : vix Romæ Roma recordeo ;  
 Vix sinit occasus vel meminisse mei.  
 Gravior hæc jactura mihi successibus illis,  
 Major sum pauper divite, stante jacens.  
 Plus aquilis vexilla crucis, plus Cæsare Petrus,  
 Plus cinctis ducibus vulgus inermis dedit.  
 Stans domui terras ; infernum diruta pulso ;  
 Corpora stans, animas fracta jacensque rego.  
 Tunc misera plebi, nunc principibus tenebrarum  
 Impero ; tunc urbes, nunc mea regna polus :  
 Quod ne Cæsaribus videar debere vel armis,  
 Et species rerum meque meosque trahat,  
 Armorum vis illa perit, ruit alta Senatus  
 Gloria, procumbunt templa, theatra jacent.  
 Rostra vacant, edicta silent, sua præmia desunt  
 Emeritis ; populo jura, colonus agris.  
 Ista jacent, ne fortè meus spes ponat in illis  
 Civis, et evacuet spesque bonumque crucis.

As modern Rome builds in here and there an old capital or pillar into her more recent structures, so the poet has used here, as will be observed, three or four lines that belong, if I do not mistake, to the old Latin anthology.

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## XXXII. IN LAUDEM SPIRITUS SANCTI.

SPIRITUS Sancte, Pie Paraclite,  
Amor Patris et Filii, nexus Gignentis et Geniti,  
Utriusque bonitas et caritas, et amborum essentiae pu-  
ritas,  
Benignitas, suavitas, jocunditas,  
Vinculum nectens Deum homini, virtus adunans ho-  
minem Numini; 5  
Tibi soli digno coli cum Patre Filioque  
Jugis cultus, honor multus sit semper procedenti ab  
utroque.  
Tu mitis et hilaris, amabilis, laudabilis,  
Vanitatis mundator, munditiae amator,  
Vox suavis exulum mœrentium, melodia civium gau-  
dentium, 10  
Istis solamen ne desperent de te,  
Istis juvamen ut suspirent ad te;  
Consolator piorum, inspirator bonorum, consiliator mœs-  
torum,  
Purificator errorum, eruditor ignotorum, declarator  
perplexorum,  
Debilem erigens, devium colligens, errantem corrigens,  
Sustines labantem, promotes conantem, perficis aman-  
tem;  
Perfectum educis de lacu fœcis et miseriae,

Deducis per semitam pacis et lætitiæ,  
Inducis sub nube in aulam sapientiæ.  
Fundamentum sanctitatis, alimentum castitatis, 20  
Ornamentum lenitatis, lenimentum paupertatis,  
Supplementum largitatis, munimentum probitatis,  
Miserorum refugium, captivorum suffragium;  
Illis aptissimus, istis promptissimus,  
Spiritus veritatis, nodus fraternitatis, 25  
Ab eodem missus à quo et promissus,  
Tu crederis omnium judex qui crederis omnium opi-  
fex;  
Honestans bene meritos præmio,  
Onustans immeritos supplicio,  
Spiras ubi vis et quando vis; doces quos vis et quan-  
tum vis: 30  
Imples et instruis certos in dubiis,  
Firmas in subitis, regis in licitis:  
Tu ordo decorans omnia, decor ordinans et ornans  
omnia,  
Dicta, facta, cogitata,  
Dicta veritate, facta honestate, cogitata puritate; 35  
Donum bonum, Bonum perfectum,  
Dans intellectum, dans et affectum,  
Dirigens rectum, formans affectum, firmans provectum,  
Et ad portas Paradisi coronans dilectum.

---

## XXXIII. DE DIE PENTECOSTES.

VENI, Creator Spiritus,  
 Mentis tuorum visita,  
 Imple supernâ gratiâ  
 Quæ tu creâsti pectora.

Qui Paraclitus diceris, 5  
 Altissimi donum Dei,  
 Fons vivus, ignis, caritas,  
 Et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere,  
 Dextræ Dei tu digitus, 10

XXXIII. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 41; Cassander, *Hymni Ecclesiastici* (Opp., Paris. 1616,) p. 242.—This hymn, of which the authorship is popularly attributed to Charlemagne, has had always attributed to it more than an ordinary worth and dignity, such as our Church has certainly recognized and allowed, when, dismissing every other hymn, she has yet retained this in the offices for the ordaining of priests, and the consecrating of bishops. It was also in old time habitually used, and the use in great part still survives, on all other occasions of a more than common solemnity, as at the coronation of kings, the celebration of synods, and, in the Romish Church, at the creation of popes, and the translation of the relics of saints.

7, 8. *Fons vivus* (John vii. 38, 39;)—*ignis* (Luke xii. 49;)—*caritas* (Rom. v. 5;)—*unctio* (1 John ii. 20, 27.)

10. *Dei tu digitus*] The title *digitus Dei*, so often given to the Holy Ghost, rests originally on a comparison of Luke xi. 20,

Tu rite promissum Patris,  
Sermone ditans guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus,  
Infunde amorem cordibus,  
Infirma nostri corporis  
Virtute firmans perpeti.

15

Hostem repellas longius,  
Pacemque dones protinus,  
Ductore sic te prævio  
Vitemus omne noxium.

20

Da gaudiorum præmia,  
Da gratiarum munera,

---

Si in *digito Dei* ejicio dæmonia, with Matt. xli. 28, Si autem ego in *Spiritu Dei* ejicio dæmonia, where evidently the *digitus Dei* of Luke is equivalent to the *Spiritus Dei* of Matthew. Cf. Augustine, *Enarr. 2<sup>a</sup> in Ps. xc. 11*; who also elsewhere unfolds a further fitness in this appellation: Quia per Spiritum S. dona Dei sanctis dividuntur, ut cùm diversa possint, non tamen discedant à concordia caritatis, in digitis autem maxime apparet quædam divisio, nec tamen ab unitate præcisio, propterea Spiritus S. appellatus est digitus Dei. And again, *Enarr. in Ps. cxliii. 1*: In digitis agnoscimus divisionem operationis, et tamen radicem unitatis. Elsewhere he has another explanation of the name (*De Civ. Dei*, l. 16, c. 43): Spiritus S. dictus est in Evangelio digitus Dei, ut recordationem nostram in primi præfigurati facti memoriam revocaret, quia et legis illæ tabulæ digito Dei scriptæ referuntur. Jerome gathers from this title an intimation of the *ὁμοουσία* of the Spirit with the Father and the Son (*In Matt. xii.*): Si igitur manus et brachium Dei Filius est, et digitus ejus Spiritus Sanctus, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una substantia est. Gregory of Nazianzum draws the same conclusion.



Dissolve litis vincula,  
Adstringe pacis foedera.

Per te sciamus, da, Patrem, 25  
Noscamus atque Filium,  
Te utriusque Spiritum  
Credamus omni tempore.

Sit laus Patri cum Filio, 30  
Sancto simul Paraclito,  
Nobisque mittat Filius  
Charisma Sancti Spiritûs.

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## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XXXIV. DE SPIRITU SANCTO.

---

QUI procedis ab utroque,  
Genitore, Genitoque,  
Pariter, Paraclite,  
Redde linguas eloquentes,  
Fac ferventes in te mentes  
Flammâ tuâ divite.

5

Amor Patris Filiique,  
Par amborum, et utrique  
Compar et consimilis:  
Cuncta reple, cuncta foves,  
Astra regis, cœlum moves,  
Permanens immobilis.

10

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XXXIV. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 179; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 73.—In Horst's *Paradisus Animæ*, *Sect.* 1, this hymn and the following appear huddled and confounded together in the strangest fashion, the two in one, and with grossest departures from the authentic text. Under this tasteless process the whole beauty of either hymn, being as they are distinct throughout, and each in itself a perfect composition, moving in its own sphere of thought and feeling, has quite disappeared. The hymns that pertain to John the Baptist, have, if possible, experienced a still worse treatment at his hands; (*Sect.* 2;) for here they are at any rate the works of the same author that are thus confused, but there those of two or three.

Lumen clarum, lumen carum,  
Internarum tenebrarum  
Effugas caliginem. 15  
Per te mundi sunt mundati;  
Tu peccatum et peccati  
Destruis rubiginem.

Veritatem notam facis,  
Et ostendis viam pacis 20  
Et iter justitiæ.  
Perversorum corda vitas,  
Et bonorum corda ditas  
Munere scientiæ.

Te docente nil obscurum, 25  
Te præsentem nil impurum;  
Sub tuâ præsentia  
Gloriatur mens jucunda,  
Per te læta, per te munda  
Gaudet conscientia. 30

Quando venis, corda lenis,  
Quando subis, atræ nubis  
Effugit obscuritas.  
Sacer ignis, pectus ignis,  
Non comburis, sed à curis 35  
Purgas, quando visitas.

Mentes prius imperitas,  
Et sopitas et oblitatas,  
Erudis et excitas.  
Foves linguas, formas sonum, 40

Cor ad bonum facit pronum  
A te data caritas.

O juvamen oppressorum,  
O solamen miserorum,  
Pauperum refugium, 45  
Da contemptum terrenorum,  
Ad amorem supernorum  
Trahe desiderium ;  
Pelle mala, terge sordes,  
Et discordes fac concordes, 50  
Et affer præsidium.

Tu qui quondam visitâsti,  
Docuisti, confirmâsti  
Timentes discipulos,  
Visitare nos digueris, 55  
Nos, si placet, consoleris,  
Et credentes populos.

Par majestas personarum,  
Par potestas est earum,  
Et communis Deitas. 60  
Tu procedens à duobus,  
Coæqualis es ambobus,  
In nullo disparitas.

Quia tantus es et talis  
Quantus Pater est et qualis, 65  
Servorum humilitas  
Deo Patri, Filioque  
Redemptori, tibi quoque  
Laudes reddat debitas.

## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XXXV. DE SPIRITU SANCTO.

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LUX jucunda, lux insignis,  
L Quâ de throno missus ignis  
In Christi discipulos,  
Corda replet, linguas ditat,  
Ad concordēs nos invitat  
Linguae, cordis, modulos.

5

Christus misit quod promisit,  
Pignus sponsae quam revisit

---

XXXV. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 177; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 71.

2. *missus ignis*] Durandus (*Rational.*, l. 6, c. 107) tells us that it was customary to scatter fire from on high in the church on the day of Pentecost; and he gives the explanation of this and other similar practices, as the letting loose of doves: Tunc enim ex alto ignis projicitur, quia Spiritus Sanctus descendit in discipulos in igneis linguis. He has omitted however any reference to the other passage in Scripture without which this custom would scarcely have found place, and which is necessary to complete the explanation—I mean Rev. viii. 5 (Vulg.): Et accepit angelus thuribulum, et implevit illud de igne altaris, [altare aureum quod est ante thronum Dei, ver. 3] et misit in terram; et facta sunt tonitrua et voces et fulgura et terræmotus magnus.

Die quinquagesimâ.  
 Post dulcorem melleum 10  
 Petra fudit oleum,  
 Petra jam firmissima.

In tabellis saxeis,  
 Non in linguis igneis  
 Lex de monte populo: 15  
 Paucis cordis novitas  
 Et linguarum unitas  
 Datur in cœnaculo.

O quàm felix quàm festiva  
 Dies, in quâ primitiva 20  
 Fundatur Ecclesia.  
 Vivæ sunt primitiæ

---

10—12. Daniel, who remarks here, Petrus Apostolus, cujus nomen die Pentecostes et omen habebat, confertur cum petrâ melifluâ in deserto; has entirely missed the meaning, doing equal wrong to the poetry and the theology of the stanza. The poet has in his eye the words of Deut. xxxii. 13, "He made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock," as will be clearer still when the words of the Vulgate are quoted: Suxerunt mel de petrâ, et oleum de firmâ petrâ; with the commentary of Gregory the Great thereupon (*Hom. 36, in Evang.*): Mel de petrâ suxerunt, qui Redemptoris nostri facta et miracula viderunt. Oleum verò de firmâ petrâ suxerunt; quia effusione Sancti Spiritûs post resurrectionem ejus ungi meruerunt. Quasi ergo in firmâ petrâ mel dedit, quando adhuc mortalis Dominus miraculorum suorum dulcedinem discipulis ostendit. Sed firma petra oleum fudit; quia post resurrectionem suam factus jam impassibilis, per afflationem Spiritûs donum sanctæ unctionis emanavit. Cf. Hugh of St Victor, *De Claustro Animæ*, l. 3, c. 8.

Nascentis Ecclesiæ,  
Tria primùm millia.

Panes legis primitivi, 25  
Sub unâ sunt adoptivi  
Fide duo populi.  
Se duobus interjecit,  
Sicque duos unum fecit  
Lapis, caput anguli. 30

Utres novi non vetusti  
Sunt capaces novi musti:

---

25. *Panes legis*] On the day of Pentecost *two* loaves, the *primitiæ* of the completed harvest were, according to the Levitical ordinance, presented to the Lord. (Lev. xxiii. 16, 17.) Why *two*, has often been enquired: and the typology of the middle ages presented its explanation, namely, that by this twofold offering it was indicated that the Church, which was founded and presented in its living firstfruits to the Lord on the great day of Pentecost, should consist alike of Gentile and of Jew; and to this interpretation we have evident allusion here. See Bähr's *Symb. d. Mos. Cult.*, v. 2, p. 650; and Iken, *De duobus Panibus Pentecostes*.

31. *non vetusti*] The Jews were the old vessels or old skins, into which the *mustum*, or new wine of the Spirit, could not be poured, (Matt. ix. 17,) and they signally shewed that they were so on the day of Pentecost, when they so misunderstood the thing which was done, as to say mocking, "These men are full of new wine," (Acts ii.,) words which yet had their truth; for the Apostles were as *utres novi*, in which the new wine of the Spirit *was* being poured, and there is, as St Paul teaches, a πληροῦσθαι ἐν Πνεύματι, which is the spiritual counterpart and antagonist to the carnal μεθύσκεσθαι οἴνω. (Ephes. v. 18.) Thus Augustine (*Serm.* 267): Utres novi erant; vinum novum de cælo expectabatur, et venit. Jam enim fuerat magnus ille Botrus calcatus et glorificatus: and



Vasa parat vidua;  
 Liquorem dat Helisæus;  
 Nobis sacrum rorem Deus, 35  
 Si corda sint congrua.

Non hoc musto vel liquore,  
 Non hoc sumus digni rore,  
 Si discordes moribus.  
 In obscuris vel divisis 40  
 Non potest hæc paraclisis  
 Habitare cordibus.

Consolator alme, veni,  
 Linguas rege, corda leni;  
 Nihil fellis aut veneni 45  
 Sub tuâ præsentia.  
 Nil jucundum, nil amœnum,  
 Nil salubre, nil serenum,  
 Nihil dulce, nihil plenum,  
 Nisi tuâ gratiâ. 50

Tu es lumen et unguentum,  
 Tu cœleste condimentum,

---

again *Serm.* 26 : Utres novos utres veteres mirabantur, et calumniando nec innovabantur, nec implebantur.

34. *dat Elisæus*] The allusion is to 2 Kin. iv. 1—6. The Church is the widow, in danger of coming, unless helped from above, to uttermost poverty, of losing her very sons. All that she can do is to prepare and bring the "vessels" of empty hearts, for Christ, the true Elisha, to fill them with that oil from above, which knows of no limitation, save only in the capacity of human hearts to receive it. (ver. 6.)

47—50. Daniel omits these four lines, it is hard to tell why.

Aquæ ditans elementum,  
Virtute mysterii.

Nova facti creatura, 55  
Te laudamus mente purâ,  
Gratiæ nunc, sed naturâ  
Prius iræ filii.

Tu qui dator es et donum,  
Tu qui condis omne bonum, 60  
Cor ad laudem redde pronum,  
Nostræ linguæ formans sonum  
In tua præconia.

Tu purga nos à peccatis,  
Auctor ipse puritatis, 65  
Et in Christo renovatis  
Da perfectæ novitatis  
Plena nobis gaudia.

53, 54. Not one merely, but two broodings of the Holy Ghost over the waters, at the first creation, (Gen. i. 2,) and at the second, are here no doubt alluded to; for the Church has ever loved to see them in their relation one with the other, and to contemplate them in this connexion. Thus Tertullian, in a very beautiful passage on our Lord's Baptism (*De Bapt.*, c. 8): Tunc ille Sanctissimus Spiritus super baptismi aquas, tanquam pristinam sedem recognoscens, acquiescit. Cf. Ambrose, *De Spir. Sanct.*, l. 1, c. 7, and in a sequence or rhythmical prose appointed for chanting at Pentecost, these lines occur: Quando machinam per Verbum suum fecit Deus, cœli, terræ, marium, Tu super aquas faturus eas, numen tuum expandisti, Spiritus: Tu animabus vivificandis aquas fecundas. (Clichtoveus, p. 175.)

## ROBERT THE SECOND, KING OF FRANCE.

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THE loveliest,—for however not the grandest, such we call it,—of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin sacred poetry, has a king for its author. Robert the Second, son of Hugh Capet, succeeded his father on the throne of France in the year 997. He was singularly addicted to Church-music, which he enriched, as well as the hymnology, with compositions of his own, such as, I believe, even now hold their place in the services of the Romish Church.

Even were the story of the writer's life unknown to us, we should guess that the hymn which follows could only have been composed by one who had had acquaintance with many sorrows, and also with many consolations. Nor should we err herein : for if the consolations are plain from the poem itself, the history of those times contains the record of the manifold sorrows, within his own family and without it, which were the portion of this meek and greatly afflicted king. Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, t. 4, p. 98—111,) brings him very vividly before us in all the beauty of his character, and also in all his evident unfitness, a man of gentleness and peace, for grappling with the men of iron by whom he was surrounded. He died in 1031.

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## XXXVI. AD SPIRITUM SANCTUM.

VENI, Sancte Spiritus,  
Et emitte cœlitus  
Lucis tuæ radium.

Veni, pater pauperum,  
Veni, dator munerum,  
Veni, lumen cordium :

5

Consolator optime,  
Dulcis hospes animæ,  
Dulce refrigerium :

XXXVI. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 176; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 35.—Clichtoveus exhibits a just appreciation of this hymn : Neque satis hæc oratio, meâ quidem sententiâ, commendari potest ; nam omni commendatione superior est, tum ob miram ejus suavitatem cum facilitate apertissimâ, tum ob gratam ejus brevitatem cum ubertate et copiâ sententiarum, ut unaquæque ferè clausula rhythmica unam complectatur sententiam, tum denique ob concinnam ejus in contextu venustatem, quâ opposita inter se aptissimo nexu compacta cernuntur. Crediderimque facilè auctorem ipsum, (quisquis is fuerit,) cùm hanc contexuit orationem, cœlesti quâdam dulcedine fuisse perfusum interius, quâ, Spiritu Sancto auctore, tantam eructavit verbis adeò succinctis suavitatem. Some later writers have attributed this hymn, and, on grounds as slight, the *Stabat Mater*, to Pope Innocent the Third ; so the *Biographie Universelle* : but there exists no sufficient reason for calling in question the attribution which has been commonly made of it, to king Robert. (Durandus, *Rationale*, l. 4, c. 22.)

In labore requies, 10  
 In æstu temperies,  
 In fletu solatium.

O lux beatissima,  
 Reple cordis intima  
 Tuorum fidelium. 15

Sine tuo numine  
 Nihil est in homine,  
 Nihil est innoxium.

Lava quod est sordidum,  
 Riga quod est aridum, 20  
 Sana quod est saucium :

Flecte quod est rigidum,  
 Fove quod est frigidum,  
 Rege quod est devium.

Da tuis fidelibus 25  
 In te confidentibus  
 Sacrum septenarium ;

Da virtutis meritum,  
 Da salutis exitum,  
 Da perenne gaudium. 30

---

## XXXVII. LIGNUM VITÆ.

EST locus ex omni medium quem credimus orbe,  
 Golgotha Judæi patrio cognomine dicunt:  
 Hic ego de sterili succisum robore lignum  
 Plantatum memini fructus genuisse salubres;

XXXVII. Fabricius, *Poëtt. Vet. Christ. Opp.*, p. 302.—This graceful allegory, which of course is not Cyprian's, has yet in time past been sometimes attributed to him, and is found not unfrequently printed with his works. Whosoever it may be, the allegory is managed with singular skill, nor could one beforehand have supposed that, keeping so close to the one image with which he starts, and introducing no new element which is not perfectly consistent with it, the poet could have set out so admirably Christ's cross (1—10,) his death and burial (11,) his resurrection (12—14,) his ascension (15—17,) his constitution in the twelve of a Church (18—21,) the gifts of Pentecost (22—25,) and the whole course of the Christian life from its initiation in baptism and repentance (27, 37—39,) to its final consummation in glory, (68.)

3. *sterili robore*] Does this mean the tree of life? It is certain that the early and middle age legends are almost infinite, which connect in one way or other the cross of Christ with the tree of life; the aim of all being to shew how the cross, as the true *lignum vitæ*, was fashioned from the wood of that tree which stood in the Paradise of God. The legend appears oftenest in this shape, namely, That Seth was sent by his dying father to obtain a slip of that tree, which having by the grace of the angel at the gate obtained, he set it upon his father's grave, that is, on Golgotha, the "place of the skull," or spot where Adam was buried. It grew there from generation to generation—each significant implement for the kingdom of God, Moses' staff, Aaron's rod, the pole on which the brazen serpent was exalted, having been taken from it; till at last, in its extreme old age, its wellnigh dead stock furnished the wood

Non tamen hos illis, qui se posuere, colonis 5  
 Præbuit; externi fructus habuere beatos.  
 Arboris hæc species; uno de stipite surgit,  
 Et mox in geminos extendit brachia ramos:  
 Sicut plena graves antennæ carbasa tendunt,  
 Vel cum disjunctis juga stant ad aratra juvencis. 10  
 Quod tulit hoc primò, maturo semine lapsum  
 Concepit tellus: mox hinc (mirabile dictu)  
 Tertia lux iterum terris superisque tremendum  
 Extulerat ramum, vitali fruge beatum.  
 Sed his vicenis firmatus et ille diebus 15  
 Crevit in immensum; cœlumque cacumine summo  
 Contigit, et tandem sanctum caput abdidit alto;  
 Dum tamen ingenti bisenos pondere ramos  
 Edidit, et totum spargens porrexit in orbem:  
 Gentibus ut cunctis victum vitamque perennem 20  
 Præberent, mortemque mori qui posse docerent.  
 Expletis etiam mox quinquaginta diebus,  
 Vertice de summo divini nectaris haustum  
 Detulit in ramos cœlestis spiritus auræ:  
 Dulei rore graves manabant undique frondes. 25

Ecco sub ingenti ramorum tegminis umbrâ  
 Fons erat: hic nullo casu turbante serenum

---

of passion, and thus it again became, and in the highest sense, the true tree of life, bearing the fruit which is indeed unto eternal life. This, and other forms of the same legend, constitute some of the fairest portions of what may without offence be called the Christian mythology. We find allusions to them in the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, (Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, v. 1, p. 686,) and Calderon has wrought them up into two magnificent dramas, the *Sibilla del Oriente*, and *El Arbol del mejor Fruto*.

20, 21. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12; Rev. xxii. 2.



Perspicuis illimis aquis, et gramina circum  
Fundebant lætos vario de flore colores.  
Hunc circum innumeræ gentes populique coibant, 30  
Quàm varii generis, sexûs, ætatis, honoris,  
Innuptæ, nuptæque simul, viduæque, nurusque,  
Infantes, puerique, viri, juvenesque, senesque :  
Hic ubi multigenis flexos incumbere pomis  
Cernebant ramos, avidis attingere dextris 35  
Gaudebant madidos cœlesti nectare fructus.  
Nec prius hos poterant cupidis decerpere palmis,  
Quàm lutulenta viæ vestigia fœda prioris  
Detererent, corpusque pio de fonte lavarent.  
Ergo diu circum spatiantes gramine molli, 40  
Suspiciunt altâ pendentes arbore fructus.  
Tum si qui ex illis delapsa putamina ramis,  
Et dulces, multo rorantes nectare, frondes  
Vescuntur, veros exoptant sumere fructus.

Ergo ubi cœlestem ceperunt ora saporem, 45  
Permutant animos, et mentes perdere avaras  
Incipiunt, dulcique hominem cognoscere sensu.  
Insolitum multis stomachum movisse saporem  
Vidimus, et fellis commotum melle venenum  
Rejecisse bonos turbatâ mente sapes, 50  
Aut avidè sumptum non dilexisse, diuque  
Et male potatum tandem evomuisse saporem.  
Sæpe quidem multi, renovatis mentibus, ægros  
Restituere animos ; et quæ se posse negabant,  
Pertulerant, fructumque sui cepere laboris. 55  
Multi etiam sanctos ausi contingere fontes,  
Discessere iterum subitò, retròque relapsi  
Sordibus et cœno mixti volvuntur eodem.

Multi verò bono portantes pectore, totis  
Accipiunt animis, penitusque in viscera condunt. 60

Ergo qui sacros possunt accedere fontes,  
Septima lux illos optatas sistit ad undas,  
Tingit et in liquidis jejunos fontibus artus.  
Sic demum illuviem mentis, vitæque prioris  
Deponunt labem, purasque à morte reducunt 65  
Illustres animas, cœlique ad lumen ituras.  
Hinc iter ad ramos et dulcia poma salutis;  
Inde iter ad cœlum per ramos arboris altæ;  
Hoc lignum vitæ est cunctis credentibus. Amen.

---

62. *Septima lux*] *Forty* rather than *seven* was the number of days which generally the ancient Church desired to set apart for the immediate preparation for baptism: yet within that forty, the last seven may, and would, have had an intenser solemnity, even as the *traditio symboli* very often did not take place till the seventh day preceding; thus, not till Palm Sunday, for those who should be baptized on Easter Eve.

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## XXXVIII. DE BONO PACIS.

PAX concordat universa,  
 Et quem trahunt in diversa  
 Motus carnis lubricæ,  
 Reconsignat unitati,  
 Et reformat puritati 5  
 Virga pacis unicæ.

Virga pacis est divina,  
 De quâ prodit disciplina  
 Servitutis liberæ,  
 Omnem sensum superans, 10  
 Et captivos liberans  
 De maligno carcere.

Virgam pacis Christus portat,  
 Qui nos regit et confortat  
 Manu sapientiæ; 15  
 Qui per virgam creat pacem,  
 Frangens virgam contumacem  
 Per virgam justitiæ.

Pax concordat malos bonis,  
 Per quam regnum Salomonis 20

---

XXXVIII. *Ælredi Opera*, Paris, 1654, p. 515.—These lines, with a good many more verses, some of them of considerable merit, are appended to the works of Ælred. Their author is unknown.

Eleganter floruit;  
De caminis Babylonis  
Tres Hebræos cum coronis  
Liberos eripuit.

Quando Deus mundum fecit, 25  
Nil in mundo tam profecit  
Quàm pax ejus dexteræ,  
Qui per pacis fundamenta  
Concordavit elementa  
Sempiterno fœdere. 30

Cœlum fecit in splendorem,  
Solem lunâ clariorem,  
Et lunam sideribus;  
Rore cœli mundum rigans,  
In mensurâ nubes ligans, 35  
Et aquas in nubibus.

Terram fecit ponderosam,  
Fructu suo gloriosam,  
Propter usus hominum.  
In abyso clausit mare, 40  
Ne valeret transire  
Datum sibi terminum.

Sic divisit per naturas  
Primas mundi creaturas  
Pacis ordinatio, 45  
Cujus thronus ex tunc vivit,  
Ex quo mundum stabilivit  
Deus à principio.

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## ST AMBROSE.

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### XXXIX. DE SS. MARTYRIBUS.

---

**Æ**TERNA Christi munera,  
Et martyrum victorias,  
Laudes ferentes debitas,  
Lætis canamus mentibus.

Ecclesiarum principes, 5  
Belli triumphales duces,  
Cœlestis aulæ milites,  
Et vera mundi lumina;

Terrore victo sæculi,  
Spretisque pœnis corporis, 10  
Mortis sacræ compendio  
Vitam beatam possident.

Traduntur igni martyres  
Et bestiarum dentibus;  
Armata sævit unguis 15  
Tortoris insani manus.

---

Nudata pendent viscera,  
Sanguis sacratus funditur,  
Sed permanent immobiles  
Vitæ perennis gratiâ.

20

Devota sanctorum fides,  
Invicta spes credentium,  
Perfecta Christi caritas,  
Mundi triumphat principem.

In his Paterna gloria,  
In his voluntas Filii,  
Exultat in his Spiritus;  
Cœlum repletur gaudiis.

25

Te nunc, Redemptor, quæsumus  
Ut ipsorum consortio  
Jungas precantes servulos  
In sempiterna sæcula.

30

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## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XL. DE S. STEPHANO.

---

**H**ERI mundus exultavit,  
Et exultans celebravit  
Christi natalitia :

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XL. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 158; Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 285; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 64.

1. *Heri*] The Church has always loved to bring out, as Adam of St Victor does here, the significance of the day on which it commemorates the martyrdom of St Stephen—namely, that it is the day immediately following the day of Christ's nativity. Thus Durandus; (*Rational.*, l. 7, c. 42;) Augustine, *Serm.* 314 and often; Bernard, v. 1, p. 794, Bened. ed.; and Fulgentius (*Appendix to Augustine*, v. 5, p. 357): Hesterno die celebravimus Natalem quo Rex martyrum natus est in mundo; hodie celebramus natalem quo primicerius martyrum migravit ex mundo. Et ideò natus est Dominus ut moreretur pro servo; ne servus timeret mori pro Domino. Natus est Christus in terris, ut Stephanus nasceretur in cœlis: altus ad humilia descendit, ut humiles ad alta adscenderent. Another hymn on St Stephen (Clichtoveus, p. 20) has these noble lines expressing the same thought :

Tu per Christum hebetatam  
Primus transis rhomphæam,  
Primum granum trituratam  
Christi ditans aream.

The *ῥομφαία* here is the fiery sword of the Cherubim, which precluded all access to Paradise, but which sword was quenched and blunted in the blood of Christ, so that Stephen could now pass it by, and enter into life.



Heri chorus angelorum  
 Prosecutus est cœlorum  
 Regem cum lætitiâ. 5

Protomartyr et Levita,  
 Clarus fide, clarus vitâ,  
 Clarus et miraculis,  
 Sub hâc luce triumphavit, 10  
 Et triumphans insultavit  
 Stephanus incredulis.

Fremunt ergo tanquam ferae,  
 Quia victi defecere  
 Lucis adversarii : 15  
 Falsos testes statuunt,  
 Et linguas exacuunt  
 Viperarum filii.

Agonista, nulli cede ;  
 Certâ certus de mercede, 20  
 Persevera, Stephane :  
 Insta falsis testibus,  
 Confuta sermonibus  
 Synagogam Satanæ.

Testis tuus est in cœlis, 25  
 Testis verax et fidelis,  
 Testis innocentiae.

---

7. *Levita*] It is hardly necessary to observe that, by a very natural transfer of Jewish terms to Christian things, *Levita* in the early Church language was equivalent to *diaconus*. (Bingham, *Antiqq.*, b. 2, c. 20, §. 2.)

11. *insultavit*] Cf. Acts vii. 51—53.

Nomen habes Coronati,  
Te tormenta decet pati  
Pro coronâ gloriæ. 30

Pro coronâ non marcenti  
Perfer brevis vim tormenti,  
Te manet victoria.  
Tibi fiet mors, natalis,  
Tibi pœna terminalis 35  
Dat vitæ primordia.

Plenus Sancto Spiritu  
Penetrat intuitu  
Stephanus cœlestia.  
Videns Dei gloriam 40  
Crescit ad victoriam,  
Suspirat ad præmia.

En à dextris Dei stantem  
Jesum, pro te dimicantem,  
Stephane, considera. 45

---

28. *Coronati*] The play upon Stephen's name is a very favourite one with the early Church writers—the *nomen et omen* which lay in that name Stephen (στέφανος) for the first winner of the martyr's *crown*. Thus Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. lviii. 3*): Stephanus lapidatus est, et quod vocabatur, accepit. Stephanus enim corona dicitur. Cf. *Serm. 314, 2*. He plays in like manner with the name of the martyr Vincentius (*Serm. 274*): *Vincentium ubique vincentem*. So in the legendary life of St Victor, a voice from heaven is heard at the moment of his death, *Vicisti, Victor, beate, vicisti*.

43. *stantem*] The one occasion on which Christ appears in Scripture as *standing* at the right hand of God, is that of Stephen's martyrdom. (Acts vii. 55, 56.) The reason why in all other places he should be spoken of as *sitting*, and here only as *standing*,

Tibi cœlos reserari,  
 Tibi Christum revelari  
 Clama voce liberâ.

Se commendat Salvatori,  
 Pro quo dulce ducit mori  
 Sub ipsis lapidibus.  
 Saulus servat omnium  
 Vestes lapidantium,  
 Lapidans in omnibus.

50

No peccatum statuatur  
 Iis, à quibus lapidatur,  
 Genu ponit et precatur,  
 Condolens insanie :  
 In Christo sic obdormivit,  
 Qui Christo sic obedivit,  
 Et cum Christo semper vivit,  
 Martyrum primitiæ.

55

60

---

Gregory the Great, whom our poet follows, has no doubt rightly given (*Hom. 19, in Fest. Ascens.*): Sedere judicantis est, stare verò pugnantis vel adjuvantis. Stephanus stantem vidit, quem adiutorem habuit. So too Arator, long before :

Lumina cordis habens cœlos conspexit apertos,  
 Ne lateat quid Christus agat : pro martyre surgit,  
 Quem tunc stare videt, confessio nostra *solentem*  
 Cùm soleat celebrare magis. Dux præcius armat  
 Quos ad dona vocat.

Our Collect on St Stephen's day has not failed to bring this point out—"O blessed Jesus, who *standest* at the right hand of God to *succour* all those that suffer for thee." This is but one example out of many, of the rich theological allusion, often unmarked by us, which the Collects of the Church contain.

54. *Lapidans in omnibus*] Augustine (*Serm. 315*): Quantum sæviebat [Saulus] in illà cæde, vultis audire? Vestimenta lapidantium servabat, ut omnium manibus lapidaret.

## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XLI. DE S. LAURENTIO.

---

SICUT chorda musicorum  
Tandem sonum dat sonorum  
Plectri ministerio,

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XLI. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 208.—These three stanzas are but the fragments of rather a long poem, in which the *manner* of St Lawrence's martyrdom, (he is said to have been broiled to death on a gridiron,) is brought rather too prominently out; even in these present the *assatus* of ver. 11 we could willingly have missed. Despite of this, they are well worthy to find a place here, being full of striking images, and singularly characteristic of their author's manner—most of all, perhaps, of his rich prodigality in the multiplication, and of his somewhat ostentatious skill in the arrangement, of his rhymes.—St Lawrence was archdeacon of Rome in the third century, and died in the persecution of Valerian. His festival was held in great honour by the Church of the middle ages, and he was accounted to hold a place only second to St Stephen, in the glorious army of martyrs. (Durandus, *Rational.*, l. 7. c. 23.)

1—10.] These and other like images appear in some lines of Hildebert upon a martyrdom (*Opp.*, p. 1259):

Sicut chorda solet dare tensa sonum meliorem,  
Sic pœnis tensus dat plenum laudis honorem;  
Utque probat fornax vas fictile consolidando,  
Utque jubes latè redolere unguenta liquando,  
Ut feriendo sapis fervorem vimque sinapis,  
Utque per ardorem thus undique fundit odorem,  
Sic odor insignis fiunt et vulnus et ignis.  
Si caro tundatur, granum paleâ spoliatur,  
Si comburatur, tolli robigo putatur.

Sic in chely tormentorum  
 Melos Christi confessorum  
 Martyris dat tensio.

5

Parum sapis vim sinapis,  
 Si non tangis, si non frangis;  
 Et plus fragrat, quando flagrat,  
 Thus injectum ignibus:  
 Sic arctatus et assatus,  
 Sub ardore, sub labore,  
 Dat odorem plenior  
 Martyr de virtutibus.

10

Hunc ardorem factum foris  
 Putat rorem vis amoris,  
 Et zelus justitiæ:  
 Ignis urens, non comburens,  
 Vincit prunas, quas adunas,  
 O minister impie.

15

20

---

4. *chely*] *Χελύς*=testudo, originally the tortoise, out of the shell of which, Hermes is said to have fashioned the first lyre. The poet would say: "It is with the martyrs of God in their sufferings as with the strings of the lyre, which are drawn tight and stricken, that so they may yield their sweetest sounds."

16. *Putat rorem*] A probable allusion to Dan. iii. 50 (Vulg.): *Et fecit medium fornacis quasi ventum roris flantem.*

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## BEDE.

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**B**ORN 672, died 735. The circumstances of his life are in fresher remembrance among English Churchmen, than to need any repetition of them here.

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### XLII. S. ANDREAS ALLOQUITUR CRUCEM.

---

**S**ALVE, tropæum gloriæ,  
Salve, sacrum victoriæ  
Signum, Deus quo perditum  
Mundum redemit mortuus.

O gloriosa fulgidis  
Crux emicas virtutibus,

---

5

XLII. Cassander, *Hymni Ecclesiastici*, (Opera, Paris, 1616,) p. 281.—These stanzas form part of one of the eleven hymns which Cassander attributed to Bede, and published for the first time in his *Hymni Ecclesiastici*, Paris, 1556; and which appear again in the collected edition of Cassander's works, referred to above. The last editor of the works of Bede, Dr Giles, has not been able to find any MS. containing these hymns, and though he has not excluded them, expresses (v. 1, p. clxxi.) many doubts in regard of their authenticity. Whether they are Bede's or not, I must express my dissent from the judgement of his editor in one respect, since, whatever may be the value of the poems as a whole, these lines at least which follow, appear to me to have a very real worth.

Quam Christus ipse proprii  
Membris dicavit corporis.

Quondam genus mortalium  
Metu premebas pallido,  
At nunc reple fidelium  
Amore læto pectora. 10

En ! ludus est credentium  
Tuis frui complexibus,  
Quæ tanta gignis gaudia,  
Pandis poliquo januas ; 15

Quæ Conditoris suavia  
Post membra, nobis suavior  
Es melle facta, et omnibus  
Præolata mundi honoribus. 20

Te nunc adire gratulor,  
Te caritatis brachiis  
Complector, ad cœlestia  
Conscendo per te gaudia.

Sic tu libens me suscipe,  
Illius, alma, servulum,  
Qui me redemit per tuam  
Magister altus gloriam. 25

Sic fatur Andreas, crucis  
Erecta cernens cornua,  
Tradensque vestem militi,  
Levatur in vitæ arborem. 30



## HILDEBERT.

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### XLIII. SOMNIUM DE LAMENTATIONE PICTAVENSIS ECCLESIAE.

---

NOCTE quâdam, viâ fessus,  
Torum premens, somno pressus,  
In obscuro noctis densæ,  
Templum vidi Pictavense,

---

XLIII. *Hildeberti et Marbodi Opp.*, p. 1357.—In the *Gallia Christiana*, t. 2, p. 1172, the circumstances are detailed, and at some length, which alone will enable us fully to enter into and to understand this noble vision. William Adelelm, the rightful bishop of Poitiers, was in 1130 violently expelled from his see, and driven into exile, by the faction of the antipope, Anacletus the second, and of the Count of Poitiers, who sided with him; and an intrusive and schismatic bishop, Peter of Chasteleraut, usurped his throne, and exercised infinite vexations and oppressions upon the Church. William was at length restored in 1135, mainly owing to the menacing remonstrances of St Bernard. See in his *Life*, (*Opp.*, t. 2, p. 1122,) a most characteristic account of the manner in which Bernard terrified the Count into this restoration. It was during the period of the usurpation, and when now it had lasted three years, (ver. 79—81,) that this poem was composed. I cannot be sure how far the reader's impression in regard of it will coincide with my own, nor whether I may not somewhat overrate its merits; but certainly it seems to me to deserve something very different from that utter oblivion into which it has fallen. I know of no nobler piece of versification, nor more skilful management of rhyme, in the whole circle of Latin rhymed poetry.

Sub staturâ personali,	5
Sub personâ matronali :	
Situs quidem erat ei	
Reverendæ faciei ;	
Sed turbârat frontem ejus	
Omni damno damnum pejus ;	10
Sic est tamen rebus inersis,	
Ut perpendas ex adversis	
Quanti esset illis annis,	
Quibus erat sine damnis.	
Juvenilis illo color,	15
Nullus erat unde dolor,	
Nullus erat, sed in ore	
Livor erat pro colore.	
Hæret crini coronella,	
Fraeta nimbis et procellâ :	20
Vicem complet hic gemmarum	
Grex corrosor tinearum.	
Sunt in ventre signa fannis,	
Quem ostendit rupta chlamys :	
Hæc est chlamys, hic est cultus,	25
Quem attrivit annus multus,	
Ab extremo quidem limbo	
Gelu rigens, madens nimbo.	
Est vetustas hujus vestis	
Novitatis suæ testis,	30

---

29—34. I understand Hildebert to mean—The oldness of this, the Church's robe, and that it had endured so long, and survived so much, was a witness for its everlasting freshness and youth, and implied with how great care it had been woven at the first, even though now it was rent and tangled and torn, and scarcely hung about her limbs :—but doubtless the *novitatis* is difficult.

Innuendo quantâ curâ  
Facta esset hæc textura:  
Nunc se tenet mille nodis,  
Implicata centum modis.

*Book 10*

Hæc ut stetit fletu madens,	35
Flendi causam mihi tradens,	
De se quidem in figurâ	
Loquebatur inter plura,	
Non desistens accusare	
Navem, nautas, ventos, mare,	40
Ut ex verbis nesciretur	
Quid vel quare loqueretur.	
Mox infigens vultum cœlis,	
Ora solvit his querelis:	
Deus meus, exclamavit,	45
Quis me turbo suffocavit?	
Quæ potestas impotentem?	
Quæ vis urget me jacentem?	
Unde metus? unde mœror?	
Unde veni? vel quo feror?	50
Qui vel quales hi piratæ,	
Qui insultant mersâ rate?	
Quæ procellæ vel qui venti	
Sic insurgunt resurgenti?	
Nauta bone, via bonis,	55
Utens remo rationis,	
Quàm ineptè, quàm incautè	
Sese habent mei nautæ!	
Sed nec nautæ dici debent,	
Qui fortunæ manus præbent,	60

Nec rectorum more degunt,  
Qui reguntur, et non regunt.  
His tam cæcis quàm ignavis  
Est commissus clavus navis,  
Quam curtavit parte unâ 65  
Piratæ vis importuna;  
Nec à nautis est subventum  
Contra ictus ferientum.  
Timent viris non timenda  
Hi à quibus sunt regenda; 70  
Motum frondis, umbram lunæ  
Timet illa gens fortunæ.  
Sic me cæcam cæco mari  
Patiuntur evagari;  
Procul collum à monili, 75  
Procul latus à cubili;  
Vilipendor à marito  
Cum ad torum hunc invito.  
Tribus annis noctem passa,  
Vehor mari nave quassâ; 80  
Non exclusit annis tribus  
Potus sitim, famem cibus;  
Vicem potûs, vicem panis  
Spes explebat, sed inanis;  
Nam exspecto tribus annis, 85  
Quasi stultus, fluxum amnis;  
Amnis tamen elabetur,  
Nec ad horam haurietur.  
Malo fracto, scisso velo,  
Ad extremum nunc anhelo; 90  
Nondum ventus iram lenit,  
Sed à parte portûs venit,

Ad occasum flat ab ortu,  
Non ad portum sed à portu.

Dispensator, qui dispensas	95
Cum privatis res immensas,	
Bene cuncta, nil iniquè ;	
Ita nusquam ut ubique ;	
Ortum suum cujus curæ	
Debent omnes creaturæ,	100
Quas creâsti non creatus,	
Factus nunquam, tamen natus ;	
Tu qui magnus sine parte,	
Princeps pacis sine Marte ;	
Tu qui bonus, immo bonum,	105
Quem amplecti paucis pronum ;	
Tibi constat id me velle,	
Ne me vexent hæ procellæ,	
Ne jam credar sorte regi,	
Desponsata regum Regi.	110
Me lædentes, Rex, inclina,	
Ne exultent de rapinâ ;	
Facientibus rapinam	
Sit rapina in ruinam ;	
Arce lupos cum piratis,	115
Ne desperet portum ratis.	
Audi, Pastor, qui me regis,	
Da pastorem doctum gregis,	
Se regnantem ratione,	
Deviantem à Simone,	120

---

[120. à Simone] Here, as so often, *Simon* is put for the sin of  
nony to which he lent his name. Thus, in some energetic lines

Qui sic pugnet in virtute  
 Ne sint opes parum tutæ;  
 Sic dispenset;—et hoc dicto  
 Somnus abit, me relicto.

---

first published by Edélestand du Méril, (*Poés. popul. Lat.*, 1847 p. 178,) and by him confidently ascribed to Thomas à Becket :

Rosæ fiunt saluinea,  
 Domus Dei fit spelunca:  
 Simon malos præfert bonis,  
 Simon totus est in donis;  
 Simon regnat apud Austrum,  
 Simon frangit omne claustrum.  
 Cùm non datur, Simon stridet;  
 Sed, si detur, Simon ridet.  
 Simon aufert, Simon donat,  
 Hunc expellit, hunc coronat;  
 Hunc circumdat gravi peste,  
 Illum nuptiali veste;  
 Illi donat diadema,  
 Qui nunc erat anathema.  
 Jam se Simon non abscondit,  
 Res permiscet et confundit.  
 Simon Petrus hunc elusit,  
 Et ab alto jussum trusit:  
 Quisquis eum imitatur  
 Cum eodem puniatur,  
 Et, sepultus in infernum,  
 Pœnas luat in æternum!

122. *opes*] Should we read *ores*?

---

## ADAM OF ST VICTOR.

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### XLIV. IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIAE.

---

QUAM dilecta tabernacula  
Domini virtutum et atria!  
Quàm electi architecti,  
Tuta ædificia,  
Quæ non movent, immo foveant, 5  
Ventus, flumen, pluvia!

---

XLIV. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 186.—This hymn, of which the theme is, the dignities and glories of the Church, as prefigured in the Old Testament, and fulfilled in the New, is too characteristic of its author not to find here a place. It is the very extravagance of typical application, and, were it only as a study in medieval typology, would be worthy of insertion; but it has other and higher merits; even though it must be owned that the poet's learned stuff rather masters him, than that he is able effectually to master it. Its title indicates that it was composed for the occasion of a church's dedication, the services of which time were ever laid out for the carrying of men's thoughts from the temple made with hands to that spiritual temple, on earth or in heaven, "whose builder and maker is God."

1—6. The first two lines of this stanza are a manifest allusion to Ps. lxxxiii. 2, 3 (Vulg.): Quàm dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum! Concupiscit, et deficit anima mea in atria Domini. In the last four lines are adapted the Lord's words, Matt. vii. 24, 25, to that most glorious building of all, the Church of the living God, which is indeed built upon a Rock, being built upon Christ himself.



Quàm decora fundamenta,  
 Per concinna sacramenta  
 Umbræ præcurrentia.  
 Latus Adæ dormientis  
 Evam fudit, in manentis  
 Copulæ primordia.

10

Arca ligno fabricata  
 Noë servat, gubernata  
 Per mundi diluvium.  
 Prole serâ tandem foeta,  
 Anus Sara ridet læta,  
 Nostrum lactans Gaudium.

15

Servus bibit qui legatur,  
 Et camelus adaquatur

20

The plural *architecti* is to be explained by the poet's including among the builders those who, under the great masterbuilder, carried up the walls—apostles and prophets; cf. Ephes. ii. 20; Rev. xxi. 14.

10—12. *Latus Adæ*] This passage from Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. lvi. 5*) will explain the allusion, if indeed it be not familiar to all. He is shewing the mystery that lay in the sleep which God sent on Adam, when he was about to fashion the woman from his side—and having asked, *Quare voluit costam dormiente auferre?* he replies, *Quia dormiente Christo in cruce facta est conjux de latere. Percussum est enim latus pendentis de lanceâ, et profluxerunt Ecclesiæ sacramenta.*

17. *Gaudium*] This word must be taken personally. Thus Hugh of St Victor: Isaac, qui interpretatur risus, designat Christum, qui est gaudium nostrum. See note p. 149.

19. *Servus bibit*] Eliezer the servant of Abraham represents, in the allegorical language of that day, the apostles or legates of Christ, who were themselves refreshed by the faith of that Gentile

Ex Rebeccæ hydriâ;  
 Hæc inaures et armillas  
 Aptat sibi, ut per illas  
 Viro fiat congrua.

Synagoga supplantatur 25  
 A Jacob, dum divagatur,  
 Nimis freta literæ.  
 Lippam Liam latent multa,  
 Quibus videns Rachel fulta  
 Pari nubit foedere. 30

In bivio tegens nuda,  
 Geminos parit ex Judâ

---

world which they brought as a bride to Christ—so to speak, drank of the streams which it ministered to them, as Eliezer drank from the pitcher of Rebecca. The whole allegory of Gen. xxiv. may be found set out at length in a Sermon of Hildebert's, *Opp.*, p. 741.

23. *Aptat sibi*] As Rebecca puts on the bracelets and earrings which Isaac has sent her, (Gen. xxiv. 22,) so the Gentile Church makes herself beautiful for her future Lord; but with ornaments which are of his own giving.

25—27. *divagatur*] Hugh of St Victor (*Alleg.*, l. 2, c. 11): Esau foris venationi deserviens, benedictionem amittens, populum Israel significat, qui foris in literâ justitiam quærit, et benedictionem cœlestis hæreditatis dimittit.

28, 29. *Liam—Rachel*] Leah and Rachel signify, as is well known, the active and contemplative life—are, so to speak, the Martha and Mary of the Old Testament; but they also signify the Synagogue and the Church—Leah the Synagogue, *lippa*, unable to see Christ, the true end of the law; but Rachel, or the Church, *videns*, seeing the things that belong to her peace.

32. *parit ex Judâ*] Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 27. For a general defence of such ugly types as this, and that which presently follows, 49—51, and of the seeking a prophetic element even in the sins of God's

Thamar diu vidua.

Hic Moyses à puellâ,

Dum se lavat, in fiscellâ

Reperitur scirpeâ.

35

Hic mas agnus immolatur,

Quo Israel satiatur,

Tinctus ejus sanguine.

Hic transitur rubens unda,

Ægyptios sub profundâ

Obruens voragine.

40

saints, see Augustine, *Con. Faust.*, l. 22, c. 83; and again c. 87. *Oderimus ergo peccatum, sed prophetiam non extinguamus.* Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral.*, l. 3, c. 28. St Bernard, in a remarkable passage which I cannot now recover, speaks of the New Testament sacraments, (using that word in its largest sense,) as fair both within and without, while in the Old, some are fair only within, and ill-favoured without. It is not my part here to enter into the question of the fitness or unfitness of the use of such types, but merely to indicate what is sufficient for their full understanding. These words of Augustine are sufficient to explain the present, who cares to see the matter brought out in greater detail may follow up the reference (*Con. Faust.*, l. 22, c. 86): *Habitus meretricius confessio peccatorum est. Typum quippe jam Ecclesiæ elegantibus evocatæ gerit Thamar. A non agnoscente fortatur, quod de illâ prædictum est, Populus quem non cognovi, servivit mihi.* The words *tegens nuda* allude to Gen. xxxviii. 14 (Vulg.): *Operuerat enim vultum suum.*

34—36. *Moyses*] Hugh of St Victor (*Alleg.*, l. 3, c. 1) *Moyses juxta flumen significat quemlibet hominem juxta fluvium præsentis sæculi positum; filia regis Gratiam designat, quæ quemlibet ad vitam prædestinatum de fluxu sæculi liberat, et in filium adoptat, ut qui prius fuerat filius iræ, deinceps existat filius gratiæ.* The words *fiscella scirpea* occur in the Vulgate, Exod. ii. 3.

37—39. Cf. Exod. xii. 5; 1 Cor. v. 7.

Hic est urna mannâ plena,  
 Hic mandata legis dena,  
 Sed in arcâ foederis; 45  
 Hic sunt ædis ornamenta,  
 Hic Aäron indumenta,  
 Quæ præcedit poderis.

Hic Varias viduatur,  
 Barsabeë sublimatur, 50  
 Sedis consors regiæ:  
 Hæc Regi varietate  
 Vestis astat deauratæ,  
 Sicut regum filiæ.

46. *ædis ornamenta*] By these we must understand the candlestick, the altar of incense, the table of shewbread, and the like. He would say, Here, in the tabernacle which the Lord has pitched and not man, are these in their truth, and not, as in that old, the mere figures of the true. Heb. ix.

48. *poderis*] = ποδήρης, vestis talaris. The word was quite naturalized in ecclesiastical Latin. Thus Hugh of St Victor: *Tunica illa quæ Græcè poderis, hoc est, talaris dicitur*; being for once right in his etymology of a Greek word. The *poderis* is the "robe" of Exod. xxviii. 4 (ποδήρης, LXX. and Josephus: tunica, Vulg.) The poet would say, Here, in the Church, are the realities which the garments of the High Priest, (*indumenta*,) and the robe, the chief among them, did but foreshew. A mystical meaning has always been found in these garments; see Braun (*De Vest. Sacerd. Hebr.*, p. 701—752.)

49. *Varias viduatur*] See note on ver. 31—33. I could hardly quote, without offence, the lines of Hildebert, (*Opp.*, p. 1217,) in which he traces the mystery of Rom. vii. 1—6 as foreshewn in 2 Sam. xi. 26, 27.

52—54. Cf. Ps. xlv. 10 (Vulg.): *Astitit regina à dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate.*

Hue venit Austri regina,  
 Salomonis quam divina  
 Condit sapientia:  
 Hæc est nigra, sed formosa;  
 Myrrhæ et thuris fumosa  
 Virga pigmentaria.

55

60

Hæc futura, quæ figura  
 Obumbravit, reseravit  
 Nobis dies gratiæ;  
 Jam in lecto cum dilecto  
 Quiescamus, et psallamus,  
 Adsunt enim nuptiæ:

65

---

55. *Austri regina*] The coming of the queen of Sheba, or of the South, (Matt. xii. 24) to hear the wisdom of Solomon, (1 Kin. x.) was a favorite type of the coming of the Gentile world to hear the wisdom of a greater than Solomon. Hugh of St Victor (*Alleg.*, l. 7, c. 2): Venit ad Salomonem regina Austri ut audiret sapientiam ejus, et venit ad Christum Gentilitas ut audiret sapientiam ejus.

58. *nigra, sed formosa*] In these words, which are taken from the Canticles i. 5, "I am black but comely," (*Nigra sum, sed formosa*, Vulg.) the middle age expositors found, not the Church's confessions of sin as still cleaving to her; but rather made them parallel to such words as the Apostle's: "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," (2 Cor. iv. 7,) or the Psalmist's, "The king's daughter is all glorious within," (Ps. xlv. 12,) *within* and not without; having no form nor comeliness, no glory in the eyes of the world—"black" therefore to it, but beautiful and "comely" to her Lord. (Bernard, *In Cant.*, *Serm.* 25.)

60. *Virga pigmentaria*] Another allusion to the Canticles namely to iii. 6 (Vulg.): Quæ est ista, quæ ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhæ, et thuris, et universi pulveris pigmentarii? The Bride, or Church, is likened to the "pillar of smoke perfumed with myrrh and frankincense."

Quarum tonat initium  
 In tubis epulantium,  
 Et finis per psalterium.  
 Sponsum millena milia  
 Unâ laudant melodiâ,  
 Sine fine dicentia,  
 Alleluia. Amen.

---

70

67—69. The marriage of Christ with his Church, which began under the Old Covenant, was completed in the New. The *trumpets* belong to the feasts of the Old, Num. x. 10; (cf. Ps. xli. 5, Vulg., *sonus epulantis*;) the *psallery* or decachordon (*modulationem edens longè suaviorem et gratiorem auditu quàm sit tubarum sonitus obstreperus: Clichtoveus*) to the New; it is on it that the *new song* is sung, even as David says (Ps. cxliii. 9, Vulg.): *Deus, canticum novum cantabo tibi: in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi*. Cf. Augustine, *Serm.* 9, *De decem chordis*, c. 5.

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## XLV. DE VITA MUNDANA.

EHEU ! cheu ! mundi vita,  
 Quare me delectas ita ?  
 Cùm non possis mecum stare,  
 Quid me cogis te amare ?

Eheu ! vita fugitiva,  
 Omni ferâ plus nociva,  
 Cùm tenere te non queam,  
 Cur seducis mentem meam ?

Eheu ! vita, mors vocanda,  
 Odienda non amanda,  
 Cùm in te sint nulla bona,  
 Cur exspecto tua dona ?

---

XLV. Edélestand du Ménil, *Poésies Populaires Latines du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1847, p. 108.—The poem from which these stanzas are drawn consists of nearly four hundred lines. It was first completely published by Du Ménil, as indicated above, from a MS. in the Royal (I suppose now the National) Library at Paris. The MS. is of the twelfth century, and the poem itself can scarcely be of an earlier date. Three or four stanzas of it had already got abroad. Thus two are quoted by Gerhard, *Loci Theoll.*, l. 29, c. 11, and see Leyser, *Hist. Poem. Med. Ævi*, p. 423. The attribution of these fragments of the poem, and thus implicitly of the whole, to St Bernard, rests on no authority whatever; it is merely a part of that general ascription to him of any poems of merit belonging to the period, whereof the authorship was uncertain.

Vita mundi, res morbosa,  
Magis fragilis quàm rosa,  
Cùm sis tota lacrymosa, 15  
Cur es mihi gratiosa?

Vita mundi, res laboris,  
Anxia, plena timoris,  
Cùm sis semper in languore,  
Cur pro te sum in dolore? 20

Vita mundi fugitura,  
Incessanter ruitura,  
Cùm in brevi sis mansura,  
Cur est mihi de te cura?

Vita mundi, res maligna, 25  
Ut ameris nunquam digna,  
Quid putas tibi prodesse,  
Si me ducas ad non esse?

Execro tuum amorem,  
Renuo tuum favorem; 30  
Desero tuum decorem,  
Non amo tuum odorem.

Per te ipsam tibi juro,  
Donis tuis nihil curo,  
Quare nil potes donare 35  
Nisi pœnas et plorare.

Pellam te de corde meo,  
Adjuvante Christo Deo,



Nec permittam te redire,  
Si debeas interire.

Nec mireris, pestis dira,  
Si te persequor cum irâ,  
Quare tu mihi fecisti  
Quicquid mali potuisti.

Ideirco, vita inepta,  
Solis fatuis accepta,  
Cùm sis tota plena sorde,  
Te refuto toto corde.

Toto corde te refuto,  
Nec sententiam commuto,  
Mortem plus volo subire,  
Tibi, vitæ, quàm servire.

---

## XLVI.

UT jucundas cervus undas  
 Æstuans desiderat,  
 Sic ad rivum Dei vivum  
 Mens fidelis properat.

Sicut rivi fontis vivi 5  
 Præbent refrigerium,  
 Ita menti sitienti  
 Deus est remedium.

Quantis bonis superponis 10  
 Sanctos tuos, Domine:  
 Sese lædit, qui recedit  
 Ab æterno lumine.

Vitam lætam et quietam,  
 Qui te quærit, reperit;  
 Nam laborem et dolorem 15  
 Metit, qui te deserit.

Pacem donas, et coronas,  
 His qui tibi militant;

---

XLVI. Hommey, *Supplementum Patrum*, Paris, 1686, p. 165.  
 —He attributes the poem from which these lines are drawn, but  
 on grounds entirely insufficient, to St Bernard.

Cuncta læta sine metâ  
His qui tecum habitant. 20

Heu quàm vanâ mens humana  
Visione falleris!  
Dum te curis nocituris  
Imprudenter inseris.

Cur non caves lapsus graves, 25  
Quos suâdet proditor,  
Nec affectas vias rectas,  
Quas ostendit Conditor?

Resipisce, atque disce  
Cujus sis originis; 30  
Ubi degis, ejus legis,  
Cujus sis et ordinis.

No te spernas, sed discernas,  
Homo, gemma regia:  
Te perpende, et attende 35  
Quâ sis factus gratiâ.

Recordare quis et quare  
Sis à Deo conditus;  
Hujus hæres nunc maneres,  
Si fuisses subditus. 40

---

34. *gemma regia*] Thus a later hymn, on the recovery of the  
lost sinner :

Amisâ drachma regio  
Recondita est ærario:  
Et gemma, deterso luto,  
Nitore vincit sidera.

O mortalis, quantis malis  
Meruisti affici,  
Dum rectori et auctori  
Noluisti subjici.

Sed majores sunt dolores 45  
Infernalis carceris ;  
Quo mittendus et torquendus  
Es, si malè vixeris.

Cuï mundus est jucundus,  
Suam perdit animam : 50  
Pro re levi atque brevi  
Vitam perdit optimam.

Ergo cave ne suäve  
Jugum spernas Domini ;  
Nec abjectâ lege rectâ 55  
Servias libidini.

Si sunt plagæ, curam age  
Ut curentur citiùs :  
Ne, si crescant et putrescant,  
Pergas in deterius. 60

Ne desperes, jam cohæres  
Christi esse poteris,  
Si carnales, quantùm vales,  
Affectus excluderis ;

Si vivorum et functorum 65  
Christum times judicem :

Debes scire, quod perire  
Suum non vult supplicem.

Preces funde, pectus tunde,  
Flendo cor humilia :  
Pœnitenti et gementi  
Non negatur venia.

---

## ALARD.

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WILLIAM Alard, born 1572, and descended from a noble family in Belgium, was the son of Francis Alard, a confessor of the Reformed Faith during the persecutions of the Duke of Alva. Hardly escaping from the Low Countries with his life, the father settled in Holstein, at the invitation of Christian the Fourth, king of Denmark. For three or four generations the family, which appears to have established itself there, or in the neighbouring parts of Germany, was distinguished in the walks of theology and classical learning. Besides other works which William composed, he was the author of two small volumes of Latin hymns, which, however forgotten now, appear to have found much favour at the time of their publication: *Excubiarum piarum Centuria*, Lipsiæ, 1623; and *Excubiarum piarum Centuria Secunda*, 1623; I believe that there was also a third *Century*, though it has never come under my eye. Of the first *Century* four editions were published in the author's lifetime. He died Pastor of Krempe in Holstein in 1645. (See the *Decas Alardorum Scriptis Clarorum*, Hamburg, 1721.)

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## XLVII. DE ANGELO CUSTODE.

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CUM me tenent fallacia  
Mundi fugacis gaudia,  
Cœlo vigil mihi datus  
Flet atque plorat Angelus.

Sed quando lacrymis mea  
Deploro tristis crimina,  
Lætatur Angelus Dei,  
Qui tangitur curâ mei.

Proinde abeste, gaudia  
Mundi fugacis omnia ;  
Adeste lacrimæ, mea  
Plorem quibus tot crimina :

Ne, lætus in malo, Angelis  
Sim causa fletûs cœlicis,  
Sed his, nefas lugens meum,  
Creem perenne gaudium.

---

## ALARD.

---

### XLVIII. ACCESSURI AD SACRAM COMMU- NIONEM ORATIO AD JESUM SERVATOREM.

---

SIT ignis atque lux mihi  
Reo tui perceptio,  
Jesu beate, corporis,  
Sacerrimique sanguinis ;

Ut ignis hic cremet mei  
Cordis nefas, et omnia  
Delicta, noxios simul  
Affectuum rubos cremet ;

Ut ista lux suâ face  
Tenebricosa pectoris  
Illuminet mei, prece  
Te semper ut piâ colat.

---

XLVIII. *Excub. Piar. Cent.*, Lips., 1623, p. 336.—The reader acquainted with the Greek Euchologion will recognize this as little more than the versification of a prayer therein.

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## ST AMBROSE.

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### XLIX. HYMNUS AD GALLICANTUM.

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ÆTERNE rerum Conditor,  
Noctem diemque qui regis,  
Et temporum das tempora,  
Ut alleves fastidium;

---

XLIX. *S. Ambrosii Opp.*, Paris, 1836, p. 200.—It has been already observed that there are many so called Ambrosian hymns, which are not by St Ambrose; out of which it has come to pass, that some, running into the opposite extreme, have affirmed that we do not possess any which with any confidence can be affirmed to be his. Yet, to speak not of others, this one is surely lifted above all doubt or suspicion, Augustine, the cotemporary of Ambrose, and himself for some time a resident at Milan, distinctly ascribing it to him, *Retract.*, l. 1, c. 21. Cf. his *Confess.*, l. 9, c. 12, in proof of his familiarity with the hymns of St Ambrose. Moreover, as has been often observed, the hymn is but the metrical arrangement of thoughts, which he has elsewhere (in his *Hexameron*, l. 24, c. 88) expressed in prose: Galli cantus...et dormientem excitat, et sollicitum admonet, et viantem solatur, processum noctis canorâ significatione protestans. Hoc canente latro suas relinquit insidias; hoc ipse lucifer excitatus oritur, cælumque illuminat; hoc canente mœstitiam trepidus nauta deponit; omnisque crebrò vespertinis flatibus excitata tempestas et procella mitescit; ...hoc postremò canente ipsa Ecclesiæ Petra culpam suam diluit—with a good deal more, in which the very terms of expression used in the hymn recur.

Præco diei jam sonat, 5  
 Noctis profundæ pervigil,  
 Nocturna lux viantibus,  
 A nocte noctem segregans.

Hoc excitatus lucifer  
 Solvit polum caligine ; 10  
 Hoc omnis erronum cohors  
 Viam nocendi deserit.

Hoc nauta vires colligit,  
 Pontique mitescunt freta ;  
 Hoc, ipsa petra Ecclesiæ, 15  
 Canente, culpam diluit.

7, 8. Clichtoveus : *Nocturna lux est viantibus* quantum ad munus et officium, quod noctu iter agentibus nocturnas significat horas, perinde atque interdiu viam carpentibus lux solis eas insinuat conspicantibus solem....*A nocte noctem segregare* memoratur, quoniam priorem noctis partem à posteriore suo cantu dirimit ac dissepapat, quasi noctis discretor.

11. *erronum*] A preferable reading to the more commonly received *errorum*, which might have so easily supplanted it, but which it, the rarer word, would scarcely have supplanted. In the parallel hymn of Prudentius we find a corroboration of this reading :

Ferunt vagantes dæmones,  
 Lætos tenebris noctium,  
 Gallo canente exterritos  
 Sparsim timere et cedere.

Invisa nam vicinitas  
 Lucis, salutis, numinis,  
 Rupto tenebrarum situ,  
 Noctis fugat satellites.

15. *petra Ecclesiæ*] That St Ambrose was very far from drawing out of Christ's words, Matt. xvi. 18, what Rome has

Surgamus ergo strenuè,  
 Gallus jacentes excitat,  
 Et somnolentos increpat;  
 Gallus negantes arguit.

20

since drawn out, or believing in a Church which was built upon a man, even though that man were Peter, and that therefore in this verse he can mean no such thing, is plain from other words of his, as *De Incarn. Dom.*, c. 5: *Fides ergo est Ecclesiæ fundamentum: non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt.*

17. *Surgamus ergo*] The cock-crowing had for the early Christians a mystical significance. It said to them, in no ordinary sense, "the night is far spent, the day is at hand." This, its mystical significance, comes out yet more plainly in the first *Cathemerinōn* of Prudentius, already quoted, and with more distinct allusion to the breaking of the great day of God, in which all darkness should for ever be chased away. Men learned to regard it as a continual summons to the casting away of all works of darkness, and to the putting on of the armour of light. And thus the cock became, in the middle ages, the standing emblem of the preachers of God's Word. The old heathen notion, that the lion could not bear the sight of the cock, to which St Ambrose alludes (*Hexam.*, l. 6, c. 4: *Leo gallum et maxime album veretur*), and which we meet in Lucretius, 4, 716, and Pliny, *II. N.*, l. 8, c. 19, easily adapted itself to this new symbolism. Satan, the roaring lion, fled away terrified, at the faithful preaching of God's Word. Nor did those, who used this image, fail to note this further fitness in the cock for setting forth the faithful preacher, that this bird, clapping its wings upon its sides, first rouses itself, before it seeks to rouse others. Thus Gregory the Great (*Reg. Pastor.*, p. 3, c. 40): *Gallus, cum jam edere cantus parat, prius alas excutit, et semetipsum feriens vigilantiores reddit: quia nimirum necesse est, ut hi, qui verba sanctæ prædicationis movent, prius studio bonæ actionis evigilent, ne in semetipsis torpentes opere, alios excitent voce.* We have here the explanation of the cock surmounting so many of our churches. See the *Gallus et Vulpes* in Grimm's *Latein. Gedichte des x. und xi. J.H.*

Gallo canente, spes redit,  
Ægris salus refunditur,  
Mucro latronis conditur,  
Lapsis fides revertitur.

Jesu, labantes respice, 25  
Et nos videndo corrige:  
Si respicis, lapsus cadunt,  
Fletuque culpa solvitur.

Tu lux refulge sensibus,  
Mentisque somnum discute: 30  
Te nostra vox primùm sonet,  
Et vota solvamus tibi.

---

p. 351, and a curious poem, not without poetical merit, in *Edélestand du Méril's Poés. Popul. Lat.*, 1847, p. 12—16. This is one stanza:

Quasi rex in capite gallus coronatur;  
In pede calcaribus, ut miles, ornatur;  
Quantò plus fit senior pennis deauratur;  
In nocte dum concinat, leo conturbatur:

which all, and much more of the kind, is then allegorized.

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## ST BERNARD.

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### L. DE NOMINE JESU.

---

JESU dulcis memoria,  
Dans vera cordi gaudia,  
Sed super mel et omnia  
Ejus dulcis præsentia.

Nil canitur suävius,  
Nil auditur jucundius,  
Nil cogitatur dulcius,  
Quàm Jesus Dei Filius.

Jesu, spes pœnitentibus,  
Quàm pius es petentibus,  
Quàm bonus te quærentibus,  
Sed quid invenientibus?

---

L. *Bernardi Opp.*, ed. Bened., 1719, v. 2, p. 914.—This poem, among those of St Bernard perhaps the most eminently characteristic of its author, consists, in its original form, of nearly fifty quatrains, and unabridged would have been too long for insertion here—not to say that, with all the beauty of the stanzas in particular, the composition, as a whole, lies under the defect of a certain monotony and want of progress. Where all was beautiful, the task of selection could not indeed be other than a hard one; but only in this way could the poem have found place in this volume; nor, for the reasons just stated, did I feel that it would be *merely* a loss to it to present it in this briefer form.

Jesu, dulcedo cordium,  
Fons vivus, lumen mentium,  
Excedens omne gaudium, 15  
Et omne desiderium.

Nec lingua valet dicere,  
Nec littera exprimere,  
Expertus potest credere  
Quid sit Jesum diligere. 20

Quando cor nostrum visitas,  
Tunc lucet ei veritas,  
Mundi vilescit vanitas,  
Et intus fervet caritas.

Qui te gustant, esuriunt; 25  
Qui bibunt, adhuc sitiunt;  
Desiderare nesciunt  
Nisi Jesum quem diligunt.

Quem tuus amor ebriat,  
Novit quid Jesus sapiat; 30  
Quàm felix est quem satiat!  
Non est ultra quod cupiat.

Jesu, decus angelicum,  
In aure dulce canticum,  
In ore mel mirificum, 35  
In corde nectar coelicum:

Desidero te millies,  
Mi Jesu, quando venies?

Me lætum quando facies ?  
Me de te quando saties ?

40

O Jesu mi dulcissime,  
Spes suspirantis animæ,  
Te quærunt piæ lacrimæ,  
Te clamor mentis intimæ.

Tu fons misericordiæ,  
Tu veræ lumen patriæ :  
Pelle nubem tristitiæ,  
Dans nobis lucem gloriæ.

45

Te cœli chorus prædicat,  
Et tuas laudes replicat :  
Jesus orbem lætificat,  
Et nos Deo pacificat.

50

Jesus ad Patrem rediit,  
Cœleste regnum subiit :  
Cor meum à me transiit,  
Post Jesum simul abiit :

55

Quem prosequamur laudibus,  
Votis, hymnis, et precibus ;  
Ut nos donet cœlestibus  
Secum perfrui sedibus.

60

---

## ALARD.

---

### LI. DE NOMINE JESU.

---

JESUS mel est in cordibus,		Cant. v.
Jesus melos in auribus,		Cant. ii.
Jesus lubido mentibus,		Cant. iii.
Jesus cupido sensibus.		Ps. xviii.
Jesus patronus orphanis,	5	Joh. xiv.
Jesus receptor advenis,		Matt. xi.
Jesus magister insciis,		Esai. xxxiii.
Jesus medela sauciis.		Esai. lxi.
Jesus corona fortibus,		Esai. xxviii.
Jesus lucerna deviis,	10	Esai. lx.
Jesus columna naufragis,		Ps. lxix.
Jesus levamen anxiis.		Esai. xxv.
Jesus dator carentibus,		Luc. i.
Jesus jubar fidelibus,		Apoc. xxi.
Jesus monile regibus,	15	Prov. iv.
Jesus redemptor omnibus.		Job xix.

---

LI. Alard, *Centuria Excubiarum Piarum*, p. 23.—I have left the scriptural references of this poem—which doubtless are the writer's own—undisturbed, even though I cannot always see their perfect fitness.



Jesus scopus currentibus,		Heb. xii.
Jesus comes certantibus,		Esai. xlii.
Jesus via ambulanti- bus,		Joh. xiv.
Jesus volup gaudentibus.	20	Luc. ii.
Jesus suprema claritas,		Luc. i.
Jesus superna caritas,		Joh. iv.
Jesus beata veritas,		Joh. xiv.
Jesus petita suavitas.		Cant. v.
Jesus thronus clementiæ,	25	Heb. v.
Jesus basis potentiæ,		Esai. ix.
Jesus fomes scientiæ,		1 Cor. i.
Jesus canon prudentiæ.		Prov. viii.
Jesus piis solatium,		Esai. lxi.
Jesus suis peculium,	30	Cant. ii.
Jesus bonis viaticum,		Ps. lxxiii.
Jesus reis piaculum.		1 Joh. ii.
Jesus salutis ostium,		Joh. x.
Jesus perenne gaudium,		Luc. ii.
Jesus monarcha subditis,	35	Esai. ix.
Jesus cibus famelicis.		Joh. vi.
Pax Jesus est tremantibus,		Esai. ix.
Fax Jesus est amantibus,		Esai. lxii.
Ros Jesus est gementibus,		Ps. lxxii.
Dos Jesus est egentibus.	40	Apoc. iii.
Dux Jesus est euntibus,		Mic. v.
Lux Jesus est errantibus,		Esai. lx.

Vis Jesus est nutantibus,		Esai. xl.
Fons Jesus æstuantibus.		Esai. xlv.
Spes Jesus est dolentibus,	45	Jer. xiv.
Urbs Jesus exulantibus,		Neh. i.
Rex Jesus est credentibus,		Zach. ix.
Arx Jesus invocantibus.		Ps. xviii.
Ars Jesus est discentibus,		1 Joh. ii.
Lex Jesus est docentibus,	50	1 Cor. i.
Vox Jesus est psallentibus,		Ps. xxxiv.
Laus Jesus est canentibus.		Esai. xii.
Ens Jesus existentibus,		Apoc. i.
Par Jesus est homunculis,		Heb. i.
Sat Jesus unus omnibus,	55	Ps. lxxiii.
Plus Jesus est quàm credimus.		Ephes. iii.
Salus quieta Jesus est,		Esai. xlix.
Quies amica Jesus est,		Matt. xi.
Virtus cupita Jesus est,		Esai. xxv.
Custos ubique Jesus est.	60	Ps. cxxi.
Dulcedo vera Jesus est,		Cant. v.
Mellita manna Jesus est,		Joh. vi.
Nectar suäve Jesus est,		Cant. i.
Saccharque dulce Jesus est.		Cant. v.
Robur fidele Jesus est,	65	Esai. xl.
Lorica firma Jesus est,		Ps. xviii.
Scutumque forte Jesus est,		Ps. lxxxiv.
Turrisque tuta Jesus est.		Prov. xviii.

Amoris arrha Jesus est,		1 Joh. iv.
Salutis ara Jesus est,	70	Heb. xiii.
Numenque mite Jesus est,		Matt. xi.
Nomenque lene Jesus est.		Cant. i.
Serena stella Jesus est,		Num. xxiv.
Optata strena Jesus est,		Luc. ii.
Rupes sacrata Jesus est,	75	Ps. xviii.
Et umbra grata Jesus est.		Esai. xxv.
Mutis loquela Jesus est,		Esai. xxxv.
Vestis decora Jesus est,		Rom. xiii.
Tutela nostra Jesus est,		Ps. xl.
Et gemma pulcra Jesus est.	80	Apoc. iv.
Pastor paterque Jesus est,		Joh. x.
Heros gigasque Jesus est,		Jer. xiv.
Sponsusque virque Jesus est,		Hos. ii.
Merces beata Jesus est.		Gen. xv.
Vitis benigna Jesus est,	85	Joh. xv.
Flumen salubre Jesus est,		Joh. iv.
Censura justa Jesus est,		Act. xvii.
Ingens propheta Jesus est.		Luc. vii.
Abraë propago Jesus est,		Gen. xii.
Jessæa virga Jesus est,	90	Esai. xi.
Cœlique scala Jesus est,		Joh. i.
Vitæque porta Jesus est.		Joh. x.
Magnus Jehova Jesus est,		Jer. xxiii.
Patrisque imago Jesus est,		Heb. i.

Liberque vitæ Jesus est,	95	Exod. xxxii.
Æterna vita Jesus est.		Joh. xiv.

Homo Deusque Jesus est,		Joh. i.
Immanuelque Jesus est,		Esai. vii.
Et Ω et Alpha Jesus est,		Apoc. i.
Et solus omne Jesus est.	100	1 Cor. xv.

Quid cogitare lætius,  
 Quid nominare gratius,  
 Quid explicare dulcius,  
 Quis posset hoc vocabulo?

Jesu benigne, fac mihi	105	
Sis Jesus usque; si mihi		Matt. i.
Tu Jesus es, quod es, nihil		Luc. i.
Requiro dives amplius.		

---

## LII. PHŒNIX INTER FLAMMAS EXSPIRANS.

---

TANDEM audite me,  
 Sionis filiæ !  
 Ægram respicite,  
 Dilecto dicite :  
 Amore vulneror,  
 Amore funeror.

5

Fulcite floribus  
 Fessam languoribus ;  
 Stipate citreis  
 Et malis aureis ;  
 Nimis edacibus  
 Liquesco facibus.

10

Huc odoriferos,  
 Hue soporiferos  
 Ramos depromite,  
 Rogos componite ;  
 Ut phœnix moriar !  
 In flammis oriar !

---

15

LII. [Walraff,] *Corolla Hymnorum*, p. 57.—The poet has drawn his inspiration throughout from the Canticles. The whole of this beautiful composition, is but the further unfolding of the words of the Bride, "I am sick of love." (ii. 5.)

An amor dolor sit,  
An dolor amor sit, 20  
Utrumque nescio ;  
Hoc unum sentio,  
Jucundus dolor est,  
Si dolor amor est.

Quid, amor, crucias? 25  
Aufer inducias,  
Lentus tyrannus es ;  
Momentum annus est ;  
Tam tarda funera  
Tua sunt vulnera. 30

Jam vitæ stamina  
Rumpe, o anima ;  
Ignis ascendere  
Gestit, et tendere  
Ad cœli atria ; 35  
Hæc mea patria !

---

## ABELARD.

---

ABELARD was born in 1079 at Palais, near Nantes, and died in 1142. His talents, his vanity, his rare dialectic dexterity, his rationalism, his relation to a woman of so far nobler and deeper character than his own, the cloistral retirement in which he spent the later years of his stormy life—all these are matters of too familiar knowledge to need to be remembered here. Of his poetry, to which, and to the great popularity which it enjoyed, both he and Heloise more than once allude, it was thought that the greater part had perished. There was indeed an Advent hymn of no high merit, beginning, *Mittit ad Virginem Non quemvis angelum*, which had been sometimes ascribed to Abelard, (Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 153,) and a few other verses of no great significance were current under his name. Not many years since, however, six poems were discovered in the Vatican, which undoubtedly are of his composing. They are styled "*Lamentations*" (*planctus*), as of David over Abner, the virgins of Israel over Jephthah's daughter, and are published in Greith's *Spicilegium Vaticanum*, Frauenfeld, 1838, p. 123—131. I have sought in them in vain any passage which I should care to quote. But this was not all, for about the same time a large body of his hymns, no fewer than ninety-seven, came to light in the Royal Library at Brussels. These last still remain in great part unedited, or did so a year ago. This would be a matter of more keen regret, if Edélestand du Ménil

(*Poésies Popul. Lat.*, 1847, p. 439—447) had not published the first eight as a specimen, which are sufficient a good deal to abate the edge of one's desire to see the remainder. Yet not altogether; for that one which finds place below, one of a series on the successive days' work of Creation, of a sort of *Hexaëmeron* in verse, despite its prosaic commencement and unmelodious rhythm, rests upon a true poetical foundation.

---

LIII. DIXIT AUTEM DEUS: FIANT LUMINARIA IN FIRMAMENTO CÆLI.

Gen. i. 14.

---

ORNARUNT terram germina,  
Nunc cœlum luminaria;  
Sole, lunâ, stellis depingitur,  
Quorum multus usus cognoscitur.

Hæc quâque parte condita  
Sursum, Homo, considera;  
Esse tuam et cœli regio  
Se fatetur horum servitio. 5

Sole calet in hieme,  
Qui caret ignis munere;  
Pro nocturnæ lucernæ gratiâ  
Pauper habet lunam et sidera. 10

---

LIII. Edélestand du Ménil, *Poésies Popul. Lat.*, 1847, p. 444.



Stratis dives eburneis,  
Pauper jacet gramineis;  
Hinc avium oblectant cantica, 15  
Inde florum spirat fragrantia.

Impensis, Dives, nimiis  
Domum casuram construis;  
Falso sole pingis testudinem,  
Falsis stellis in cœli speciem. 20

In verâ cœli camerâ  
Pauper jacet pulcherrimâ;  
Vero sole, veris sideribus  
Istam illi depinxit Dominus.

Opus magis eximium 25  
Est naturæ quàm hominum;  
Quod nec labor nec sumptus præparat,  
Nec vetustas solvendo dissipat.

Ministrat homo diviti,  
Angelus autem pauperi, 30  
Ut hinc quoque constet cœlestia  
Quàm sint nobis à Deo subdita.

---

17—24. Augustine : Plus est pauperi videre cælum stellatum  
quàm diviti tectum inauratum.

---

## BUTTMANN.

---

Born 1764, died 1829.

---

### LIV. ARX FIRMA DEUS NOSTER EST.

---

ARX firma Deus noster est,  
Is telum, quo nitamur ;  
Is explicat ex omnibus  
Queis malis implicamur.  
Nam cui semper mos,  
Jam ter terret nos ;

---

5

LIV.' Mohnike, *Hymnologische Forschungen*, Stralsund, 1832, v. 2, p. 250.—This is a good translation, perhaps as good as could be made, of Luther's "Heldenlied," as it well has been called,

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott :

the hymn, among all with which he has enriched the Church, the most characteristic of the man, the truest utterance of his great heart. It must be confessed that much of the heroic strength of the original has vanished in the translation ; yet, beside its merits, which are considerable, it is interesting as shewing the great philologist whose work it is, in somewhat a novel aspect. It was first published in 1830, shortly after Buttmann's death, on the occasion of the third jubilee to celebrate the publication of the Confession of Augsburg. It is well known that the original hymn was probably composed in 1530, during the time the Diet was sitting.

Per astum, per vim,  
Sævam levat sitim;  
Nil par in terris illi.

In nobis nihil situm est,  
Quo minus pereamus:  
Quem Deus ducem posuit,  
Is facit ut vivamus.  
Scin quis hoc potest?  
Jesus Christus est,  
Qui, dux cœlitum,  
Non habet æmulum;  
Is vicerit profectò.

10

15

Sit mundus plenus dæmonum,  
Nos cupiant vorare;  
Non timor est; victoriâ  
Nil potest nos frustrare.  
Hem dux sæculi!  
Invitus abi!  
In nos nil potes,  
Jam judicatus es;  
Vel vocula te sternat.

20

25

Hoc verbum non pessumdabunt,  
Nec gratiam merebunt;  
In nobis Christi Spiritus  
Et munera vigeant:  
Tollant corpus, rem,  
Mundique omnem spem:  
Tollant! jubilent!  
Non lucrum hinc ferent;  
Manebit regnum nobis.

30

35

## ST BERNARD.

---

### LV. DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI.

---

CUM sit omnis homo fœnum,  
Et post fœnum fiat cœnum,  
Ut quid, homo, extolleris?  
Cerne quid es, et quid eris;  
Modò flos es, et verteris 5  
In favillam cineris.

Per ætatum incrementa,  
Immo magis detrimenta,  
Ad non-esse traheris.  
Velut umbra, cùm declinat, 10  
Vita surgit et festinat,  
Claudit meta funeris.

Homo dictus es ab humo,  
Citò transis, quia fumo

---

LV. *Bernardi Opp.*, ed. Bened., 1719, v. 2, p. 915; Ram-  
bach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 281.

13. *ab humo*] Quintilian (*Inst.*, i, 6, 34) throws scorn on  
his derivation—quasi verò non omnibus animalibus eadem origo,  
ut illi primi mortales ante nomen imposuerint terræ quàm sibi.  
But see Freund's *Wörterbuch d. Lat. Sprache*, s. v. Homo.

Similis efficeris.

15

Nunquam in eodem statu  
Permanes, dum sub rotatu  
Hujus vitæ volveris.

O sors gravis! o sors dura!

O lex dira, quam natura

20

Promulgavit miseris!

Homo, nascens cum mœrore,

Vitam ducis cum labore,

Et cum metu moreris.

Ergo si seis qualitatem

25

Tuæ sortis, voluptatem

Carnis quare sequeris?

Memento te moriturum,

Et post mortem id messurum,

Quod hic seminaveris.

30

Terram teris, terram geris,

Et in terram reverteris,

Qui de terrâ sumeris.

Cerne quid es, et quid eris,

Modò flos es, et verteris

35

In favillam cineris.

---

## ALANUS.

---

### LVI. RHYTHMUS DE NATURA HOMINIS FLUXA ET CADUCA.

---

OMNIS mundi creatura  
Quasi liber et pictura  
Nobis est, et speculum;  
Nostræ vitæ, nostræ mortis,  
Nostri statûs, nostræ sortis 5  
Fidele signaculum.

Nostrum statum pingit rosa,  
Nostri statûs decens glosa,  
Nostræ vitæ lectio:  
Quæ dum primo mane floret, 10  
Defloratus flos effloret  
Vespertino senio.

---

LVI. *Alani Opera*, ed. C. de Visch, p. 419.

8. *glosa*] *Glosa*, or *glossa*, is thus explained by Du Cange: Interpretatio, imago, exemplum rei; it is our English *gloss* or *glose*; which yet is used generally in a bad sense, the tongue (for the word is of course derived from γλῶσσα) being so often the setter forth of deceit, interpretation being so frequently misinterpretation. The German *gleissen*, to make a fair shew, belongs probably to the same family of words.

Ergo spirans flos exspirat,  
In pallorem dum delirat,  
Oriendo moriens.

15

Simul vetus et novella,  
Simul senex et puella,  
Rosa marcet oriens.

Sic ætatis ver humanæ,  
Juventutis primo mane,  
Refflorescit paululum.  
Mane tamen hoc excludit  
Vitæ vesper, dum concludit  
Vitale crepusculum :

20

Cujus decor dum perorat,  
Ejus decus mox deflorat  
Ætas, in quâ defluit.  
Fit flos fœnum, gemma lutum,  
Homo cinis, dum tributum  
Homo morti tribuit.

25

30

Cujus vita, cujus esse  
Pœna, labor, et necesse  
Vitam morte claudere.  
Sic mors vitam, risum luctus,  
Umbra diem, portum fluctus,  
Mane claudit vespere.

35

In nos primum dat insultum  
Pœna, mortis gerens vultum,  
Labor, mortis histrio:  
Nos proponit in laborem,

40

Nos assumit in dolorem,  
Mortis est conclusio.

Ergo clausum sub hâc lege  
Statum tuum, homo, lege,  
Tuum esse respice : 45  
Quid fuisti nasciturus,  
Quid sis præsens, quid futurus,  
Diligenter inspice.

Luge poenam, culpam plange,  
Motus fræna, fastum frange, 50  
Pone supercilia.  
Mentis Rector et Auriga,  
Mentem rege, fluxus riga,  
Ne fluant in devia.

---



## JACOBUS DE BENEDICTIS.

---

JACOBUS de Benedictis, or familiarly Jacopone, to whom the following poem in all probability appertains, was in every regard a memorable man and of a remarkable history, although I must refer those who would know about him to the very careful sketch of his life and writings, drawn entirely from the original sources and far richer than any to be found in ordinary biographies, which is given by Mohnike in his *Studien*, Stralsund, 1825, v. 1, p. 335—406; though indeed that which the *Biographie Universelle* supplies, is far from being slightly or inaccurately done. The year of his birth is not known, but, as he died in 1306 at a great age, it must have fallen early in the preceding century. He was born at Todi in Umbria, of a noble family, and lived a secular life, until some remarkable circumstances attending the violent death of his wife made so deep an impression upon him, that he withdrew himself to that which was at that day counted exclusively the religious life, and entered the Order of St Francis, just then at its highest reputation for sanctity; though he was never willing to be more than a lay brother therein.

Of his Latin poems there is only this and the far more celebrated *Stabat Mater* preserved; but of Italian spiritual songs and satires a very large amount. The great freedom of speech, with which in these last he handled the abuse of his time, and especially those of the hierarchy, occasioned him long imprisonments, and he only went out of prison

when his persecutor, Boniface the Eighth, went in. An earnest humorist, he would seem to have desired to carry the being a fool for Christ into every-day familiar life. The things which with this intent he did, some of them morally striking enough, others mere extravagances and pieces of gross spiritual buffoonery,—wisdom and folly, such as we often find, side by side, in some of the saints of the Romish Calendar,—are largely given by Wadding, the historian of the Franciscan Order, and by Lisco, in a separate treatise which he has published on the *Stabat Mater*, Berlin, 1843, p. 23. Not a few of these leave one in doubt whether he was indeed perfectly sound in his mind, or whether he was only a Christian Brutus, feigning folly, that he might impress his wisdom the more deeply.

Balde, the Bavarian Jesuit, of whom there will presently be occasion to say something more, has recorded in a graceful little poem (*Silv.*, l. 7, *od.* 7.) what his feelings were, on first making acquaintance with the life and writings of Jacopone :

Tristis nœnia funerum,  
 Vanæ cum gemitu cedite lacrymæ.  
 Me virtutis iter docent  
 Intermista jocis gaudia mutuis;  
 Me cœlo lepor inserit;  
 Me plus quàm rigidi vita Pachomii,  
 Jacopone, trahit tua,  
 Florens lætitiis mille decentibus.  
 Sancto diceris omnia  
 Risu perdomuisse; egregiâ quidem  
 Dementis specie viri.  
 Chaldæosque magos, et Salomoniam  
 Transgressus sapientiam,  
 Curarum vacuus, plenior ætheris,  
 Non urbis, neque dolii,  
 Sed mundi fueras publicus incola.

---

## LVII. DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI.

CUR mundus militat sub vanâ gloriâ,  
 Cujus prosperitas est transitoria?  
 Tam citò labitur ejus potentia,  
 Quàm vasa figuli, quæ sunt fragilia.

Plus fide litteris scriptis in glacie, 5  
 Quàm mundi fragilis vanæ fallaciæ;  
 Fallax in præmiis, virtutis specie,  
 Qui nunquam habuit tempus fiducia.

Credendum magis est viris fallacibus, 10  
 Quàm mundi miseris prosperitatibus,  
 Falsis insaniis et vanitatibus,  
 Falsisque studiis et voluptatibus.

Quàm breve festum est hæc mundi gloria!  
 Ut umbra hominis, sic ejus gaudia,

---

LVII. *Bernardi Opp.*, ed. Bened. v. 2, p. 913; Mohnike, *Hymnol. Forschungen*, v. 2, p. 173.

9. *viris*] But the *viri fallaces* do themselves constitute the world, so that, the two things being identical, there cannot well be a comparison between them. Mohnike (i. 377) proposes to read *ventis*; yet better still is a later suggestion which he makes, (2, 177,) *vitris fallacibus*. It is evident, as he observes, that Opitz, in his grand old German translation of the hymn, must have had this reading before him, for he writes: *Lieber will ich Glauben fassen, Auf ein Glas, das baid zerfällt, Als mich trösten mit den Schätzen, Und dem Glücke dieser Welt.*

Quæ semper subtrahunt æterna præmia,  
Et ducunt hominem ad dura devia. 15

{ O esca vermium! o massa pulveris!  
O ros, o vanitas, cur sic extolleris?  
Ignorans penitus, utrùm cras vixeris,  
Fac bonum omnibus, quamdiu poteris. 20

Hæc carnis gloria, quæ tanti penditur,  
Sacris in litteris flos fœni dicitur;  
Ut leve folium, quod vento rapitur,  
Sic vita hominis luci subtrahitur.

Nil tuum dixeris quod potes perdere, 25  
Quod mundus tribuit, intendit rapere:  
Superna cogita, cor sit in æthere,  
Felix, qui potuit mundum contemnere!

Dic, ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis,  
Vel ubi Sampson est, dux invincibilis, 30

---

18. *O ros, o vanitas*] Some editions read *O roris vanitas*, while others *O nox, o vanitas*, as indeed throughout the hymn the text is very far from accurately fixed. Mohnike suggests *O flos, o vanitas*, with allusion to such scriptural passages as Job xiv. 2; Ps. ciii. 15; Isai. xxviii. 1, 4; 1 Pet. i. 24. Yet this image the poet seems to have reserved for the second line of the next stanza; while the early drying up of the morning dew is also a scriptural image for that which quickly passes away and disappears; (Hos. vi. 4; xiii. 3;) and one appearing in medieval as indeed in all poetry. Thus the author of the *Carmen Paræneticum*, sometimes ascribed to St Bernard (*Opp.*, v. 2, p. 910, Bened. ed.):

Quàm malè fraudantur, qui stultè ludificantur,  
Qui propter florem mundi vanumque decorem,  
Qui prius apparet quasi ros, et protinus aret,  
Vadit in infernum, perdens diadema supernum.

Vel pulcher Absalon, vultu mirabilis,  
Vel dulcis Jonathas, multùm amabilis?

Quo Cæsar abiit, celsus imperio,  
Vel Dives splendidus, totus in prandio?  
Dic, ubi Tullius, clarus eloquio,  
Vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio?

35

Tot clari procures, tot rerum spatia,  
Tot ora præsulum, tot regna fortia,  
Tot mundi principes, tanta potentia,  
In ictu oculi clauduntur omnia.

40

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## BALDE.

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JACOB Balde, born at Ensisheim in Alsace, in 1603, entered the Order of the Jesuits in 1624, and died in 1668. The greater part of his life was spent in Bavaria; where he could watch only too well the unspeakable miseries of the Thirty Years' War. Filling up, as that war did, exactly the central period of his life, he was spectator of these from first to last: and almost every page of his poems bears witness with what a bleeding heart he beheld the wounds of his native land. This sympathy of his, so true and so profound, with the sufferings of Germany, gives a reality to his verse which modern Latin poetry so often wants: yet with all this, and with a free recognition, not of his talents merely, but of his genius, I cannot think but that there is some exaggeration in the language in which it has become the fashion to speak of him among his fellow-countrymen. They exalt him as the greatest of modern Latin poets—not, of course, as having reached the highest perfection of classical style, for no one would be so absurd as to attribute this praise to him, which any page of his writings would abundantly refute—but for the grandeur of his thoughts, the originality and boldness of his imagery; so that they regard him, not so much as an accomplished Latin versifier, but rather as a great German poet in the disguise of a foreign tongue. It was Herder who first began to speak this language about him, and who indeed first revived his memory in the minds of his fellow-countrymen, publishing in his *Terpsichore* a translation of a large

number of his odes. A. W. Schlegel followed in the same track, with yet more enthusiastic praise<sup>1</sup>: and since his time several editions of Balde's works, entire or selected, have been published, thus two by Orelli, Zurich, 1805, 1818; and in like manner translations of the whole, or a portion of them, have appeared.

Nor is his poetry, which has thus been brought to light a second time, inconsiderable in bulk. It fills, on the contrary, four closely printed volumes. Next to his odes his *Solatium Podagricorum* (Munich, 1661) has perhaps been the most widely read. It must be owned that the gout is rather a ghastly subject for merriment, especially when the jest is continued through some thousand lines. The poem, of which the tone is mock-heroic, is intended no doubt to set forth the praises of abstemiousness. Thus one of the most frequent topics of consolation which he offers to the martyrs to this disease, is the dignity of their complaint—that it is only the rich and the luxurious whom it honors with its visits; as in these lines:

Morbus hic induitur gemmis et torquibus aureis,  
Armillasque gerit manibus colloque smaragdus:  
Non est communis lixis vulgoque frequenti.  
Cerdones refugit, nec de lodice paratur;  
Mæcenas te laute petens, multamque supine:  
Seligit aulai thalamos in turribus altis,

---

<sup>1</sup> These are Schlegel's words: Ein tiefes, regsames, oft schwärmerisch ungestümes Gefühl, ein Einbildungskraft, woraus starke und wunderbare Bilder sich zahllos hervordrängen, ein erfinderischer, immer an entfernten Vergleichen, an überraschenden Einkleidungen geschäftiger Witz, ein scharfer Verstand, grosse sittliche Schnellkraft und Selbstständigkeit, kühne Sicherheit des Geistes, welche sich immer eigene Wege wählt, und auch die ungebahnten nicht scheut: alle diese Eigenschaften erscheinen in Balde's Werken allzu hervorstechend, als dass man ihn nicht für einen ungewöhnlich reich begabten Dichter erkennen müsste.

Auratumque habitat, vel eburno ex dente lacunar;  
 Fulcitur plumis et pulvinaribus albis.  
 Vive diu, infelix, morbo indignissimus isto.

Now and then, however, the religious earnestness, which is at the bottom of all which Balde writes, openly appears, as when he reminds the fretful and impatient sufferer, of One who had no such solaces and alleviations of pain, as are largely granted to him:

... non dormiit ostro,  
 Mollibus effultus cygnis, foliisque rosarum:  
 Affixus fuit ILLE cruci, clavisque quaternis  
 Ex ferro fossus terram inter et astra pependit;  
 Felle sitim relevans, pertusus vocibus aures  
 Sacrilegis; toto laniatum corpore funus.  
 Te capit infusum lectica simillima Ledæ,  
 Invitum quæ vel queat invitare soporem;  
 Accinit Amphion, et fundit dulcia Rhenus;  
 Demulcet conjux; lepidi solantur amici;  
 Et potes, heu! lecto trux indignarier isti,  
 Duraque fata queri, quæ sunt mollissima fatu.

These brief extracts may suffice to give a slight conception of what the character of this poem is. But it is, undoubtedly, as a lyric poet that Balde is greatest; and in that aspect the poem which follows will shew him.

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# LVIII. CHOREA MORTUALIS SIVE LESSUS.

DE SORTIS ET MORTIS IN HUMANAS RES IMPERIO:

Argumentum

Inter funebres tædas, ad modulatos Umbrarum passus  
decantandum.

---

**E**HEU, quid homines sumus?  
Vanesчимus, sicuti fumus;  
Vana, vana terrigenûm sors,  
Cuncta dissipat improba mors.

Exstincta est Leopoldina,  
Frustra clamata Lucinâ;  
Lacrymosa puerperæ mors,  
Miseranda mulierum sors!

Cùm falcibus ageret æstas,  
Est et hæc succisa majestas;  
Ah, aristæ purpuræ sors!  
Sicne dira te messuit mors?

---

LVIII. Balde, *Poëmata*, Coloniae, 1660, v. 4, p. 424.—The empress Leopoldina, wife of Ferdinand the third, died in child-birth at Vienna after one year's marriage, in the year 1649. The great commonplaces of death, which, if always old, are yet always new, have seldom clothed themselves in grander form, or found a more solemn utterance, than they do in this sublime poem. How noble the third, the fourth, and the sixth stanzas!

9. *æstas*] The empress died on the 7th of August.

Quo more vulgaris urtica,  
Jacet hæc quoque regia spica ;  
    Suo condidit horreo mors, 15  
    Brevi posuit angulo sors.

Ut bulla defluxit aquosa,  
Subsedit, ut vespere rosa ;  
    Brevis omnis est flosculi sors,  
    Rapit ungue celerrima mors. 20

Quam manibus osseis tangit,  
Crystallinam phialam frangit ;  
    O inepta et rustica mors !  
    O caduca juvenculæ sors !

Quæ pulcrior fuit Aurorâ, 25  
Hanc, Cæsaris aula, deplora ;  
    Vana species, lubrica sors,  
    Tetra facies, pallida mors.

Quæ vides has cunque choreas,  
Augebis et ipsa mox eas ; 30  
    Subitam movet aleam sors,  
    Certa rotat hastilia mors.

Huc prompta volensque ducetur,  
Capillis invita trahetur ;  
    Ducet inevitabilis sors, 35  
    Trahet inexorabilis mors.

Quod es, fuimus : sumus, quod eris ;  
Præcessimus, tuque sequeris ;  
    Volat antè levissima sors,  
    Premit arcu vestigia mors. 40

Nihil interest pauper an dives,  
Non amplius utique vives;  
Simul impulit clepsydræ sors,  
Vitæ stamina lacerat mors. .

Habere nil juvat argentum,  
Nil regna prætendero centum;  
Sceptra sarculis abigit sors,  
Ridet albis hæc dentibus mors.

Nihil interest turpis an pulera,  
Expectant utramque sepulcra;  
Legit lappas et lilia sors,  
Violasque cum carduis mors.

Nec interest vilis an culta,  
Trilustris, an major adultâ;  
Vere namque novissimo sors,  
Populatur et hyeme mors.

Linquenda est aula cum casâ,  
Colligite singuli vasa;  
Jubet ire promiscua sors,  
Ire cogit indomita mors.

Ex mille non remanet unus,  
Mox omnes habebitis funus;  
Ite, ite, quo convocat sors,  
Imus, imus, hoc imperat mors.

Ergo vale, o Leopoldina,  
Nunc umbra, sed olim regina;  
Vale, tibi nil nocuit sors,  
Vale, vale, nam profuit mors.

45

50

55

60

65

Bella super et Suecica castra,  
Nubesque levaris, et astra ; 70  
Penetrare quo nequeat sors,  
Multò minus attonita mors.

Inde mundi despiciens molem,  
Lunam pede calcas et solem ;  
Dulce sonat ex æthere vox, 75  
Hyems transiit, occidit nox.

Surge, veni ; quid, sponsa, moraris,  
Veni, digna cœlestibus aris ;  
Imber abiit, mœstaque crux,  
Lucet, io, perpetua Lux. 80

---

69. *Suecica castra*] A fine allusion to the recent desolations of Germany. It is true that when the empress died, peace had been restored for nearly a year, the treaty of Westphalia having been signed in October, 1648. But the wounds of Germany could scarcely have begun to heal ; and it was only four years before, that the smoke of the Swedish watchfires had been visible from the ramparts of Vienna.

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## MARBOD.

---

**M**ARBOD, born in 1035, of an illustrious family in Anjou, was chosen bishop of Rennes in 1095, or in the year following, and having governed with admirable wisdom his diocese for thirty years, died in 1125. He has left a large quantity of Latin poetry, in great part the versified legends of saints. His poem *De Gemmis* was a great favorite in the middle ages, and has been often reprinted. It is perhaps worth reading, not as poetry, for as such it is of very subordinate value, but as containing the whole rich mythology of the period in regard of precious stones and the virtues which were popularly attributed to them. Although his poems are for the most part written in leonine verse, he has shewn in more than one a considerable skill in the classical hexameter.

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### LIX. ORATIO AD DOMINUM.

---

**D**EUS homo, Rex cœlorum,  
Miserere miserorum;  
Ad peccandum proni sumus,  
Et ad humum redit humus;

---

Tu ruinam nostram fulci 5  
Pietate tuâ dulci.  
Quid est homo, proles Adæ?  
Germen necis dignum clade.  
Quid est homo nisi vermis,  
Res infirma, res inermis. 10  
Ne digneris huic irasci,  
Qui non potest mundus nasci:  
Noli, Deus, hunc damnare,  
Qui non potest non peccare;  
Judicare non est æquum 15  
Creaturam, non est tecum:  
Non est miser homo tanti,  
Ut respondeat Tonanti.  
Sicut umbra, sicut fumus,  
Sicut fœnum facti sumus: 20  
Miserere, Rex cœlorum,  
Miserere miserorum.

---

## DAMIANI.

---

PETER Damiani, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was born at Ravenna in 1002, and died in 1072. Profoundly impressed with the horrible corruption of his age, and the need of a great reformation which should begin with the clergy themselves, he was the enthusiastic friend and helper of Hildebrand in all the good and in all the evil which he wrought for the Church. He has left a considerable body of Latin verse; but, not to say that much of it is deeply tinged with superstitions of which he was only too zealous a promoter, there is little of it, which, even were this otherwise, one would much be tempted to extract save this, and the far grander poem *De Gaudiis Paradisi*, which will be found a little later in this volume. Yet doubtless his epitaph, written by himself, possesses, with the one doctrinal blemish, which no such composition in that age could well escape, a solemn and a stately grandeur. It is as follows:

Quod nunc es, fuimus: es, quod sumus, ipse futurus;

His sit nulla fides, quæ peritura vides.

Frivola sinceris præcurrunt somnia veris,

Succedunt brevibus sæcula temporibus.

Vive memor mortis, quo semper vivere possis;

Quidquid adest, transit; quod manet, ecce venit.

Quàm bene providit, qui te, male muunde, reliquit,

Mente prius carni, quam tibi carne mori.

Coelica terrenis, præfer mansura caducis,

Mens repetat proprium libera principium:

Spiritus alta petat, quo prodit fonte recurrat,

Sub se despiciat quicquid in ima gravat.

Sis memor, oro, mei:—cineres plus aspice Petri;

Cum præce, cum gemitu dic: Sibi parce, Deus.

Surely it is nothing wonderful that he who had so

realized what life and death are, did not wait till the last had stripped him of his worldly honors, but himself anticipated that hour; having some time previously laid down his cardinal's hat, that what remained of his life he might spend in retirement and in prayer. It is only likely that he had already so done, when this epitaph was composed. He died as abbot of Sta Croce d'Avellano in the States of the Church.

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## LX. DE DIE MORTIS.

---

GRAVI me terrore pulsas, vitæ dies ultima;  
 Mœret cor, solvuntur renes, læsa tremunt viscera,  
 Tuam speciem dum sibi mens depingit anxia.

Quis enim pavendum illud explicet spectaculum,  
 Quum, dimenso vitæ cursu, carnis ægra nexibus 5  
 Anima luctatur solvi, propinquans ad exitum?

Perit sensus, lingua riget, resolvuntur oculi,  
 Pectus palpitat, anhelat raucum guttur hominis,  
 Stupent membra, pallent ora, decor abit corporis.

Præstò sunt et cogitatus, verba, cursus, opera, 10  
 Et præ oculis nolentis glomerantur omnia:  
 Illuc tendat, huc se vertat, coram videt posita.

---

LX. Corner, *Prompt. Devot.*, p. 701; Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 238; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 224.



Torquet ipsa reum suum mordax conscientia,  
 Plorat acta corrigendi defluxisse tempora;  
 Plena luctu caret fructu sera poenitentia. 15

Falsa tunc dulcedo carnis in amarum vertitur,  
 Quando brevem voluptatem perpes poena sequitur;  
 Jam quod magnum credebatur nil fuisse cernitur.

Quæso, Christe, rex invicte, tu succurre misero,  
 Sub extremâ mortis horâ cùm jussus abiero, 20  
 Nullum in me jus tyranno præbeatur impio.

Cadat princeps tenebrarum, cadat pars tartarea;  
 Pastor, ovem jam redemptam tunc reduc ad patriam,  
 Ubi te videndi causâ perfruar in sæcula.

---

24. I know no fitter place to append a poem, which has no right to find room in the body of this volume, being, as the reader will observe, almost without any distinctly Christian element whatever, and indeed being little more than a mere worldling's lamentation at leaving a world which he knows he has abused, yet would willingly, if he might, have continued still longer to abuse. But even from that something may be learned; and there is a force and energy about the composition, which make me willing to insert it here, especially as it is very far from common. I would indeed gladly know something more about it, having never met it but in Königsfeld's *Lat. Hymnen und Gesänge*, Bonn, 1847, a small and rather indifferent collection of medieval Latin poetry, with German translations annexed—a volume edited so carelessly as to inspire me with no confidence in the text, which, however, with the correction of one or two obvious mistakes, I here present to the reader. Certainly the thoughts have a more modern air about them, than that I can suppose the poem rightly included in a collection of medieval verse at all. It bears the not very appropriate title of *Cygnus Exspirans*, and is as follows :

Parendum est, cedendum est,  
 Claudenda vitæ scena;

Est jacta sors, me vocat mors,  
Hæc hora est postrema :  
Valete res, valete spes ;  
Sic finit cantilena.

O magna lux, sol, mundi dux,  
Est concedendum fatis ;  
Duc lineam eclipticam,  
Mihi luxisti satis :  
Nox incubat ; fax occidit ;  
Jam portum subit ratis.

Tu, cithara argentea,  
Vos, aurei planetæ,  
Cum stellulis, ocellulis,  
Nepotibus lucete ;  
Fatalia, letalia  
Mi nunciant cometæ.

Ter centies, ter millies  
Vale, immunde munde !  
Instabilis et labilis,  
Vale, orbis rotunde !  
Mendaciis, fallaciis  
Lusisti me abundè.

Lucentia, fulgentia  
Gemmis valete tecta,  
Seu marmore, seu ebore  
Supra nubes erecta.  
Ad parvulum me loculum  
Mors urget equis vecta.

Lucretiæ, quæ specie  
Gypsatâ me cepistis,  
Imagines, voragines !  
Quæ mentem sorbuistis,  
En oculos, heu ! scopulos,  
Extinguit umbra tristis.

Tripudia, diludia,  
Et fescennini chori,  
Quiescite, rauescite ;  
Præco divini fori,  
Mors, intonat et insonat  
Hunc lessum ; Debes mori

Deliciæ, lætitiæ  
Mensarum cum culinâ ;

Cellaria, bellaria,  
Et coronata vina:  
Vos nauseo, dum haurio  
Quem scyphum mors propinat.

Facessite, putrescite,  
Odores, vestimenta;  
Rigescite, o deliciae,  
Libidinum fomenta!  
Deformium me vermium  
Manent operimenta.

O culmina, heu! fulmina,  
Horum fugax honorum,  
Tam subito dum subeo  
Æternitatis domum,  
Ridiculi sunt tituli;  
Foris et agunt momum.

Lectiasimi, carissimi  
Amici et sodales,  
Heu! insolens et impudens  
Mors interturbat sales.  
Sat lusibus indulsinus:  
Extremum dico vale!

Tu denique, corpus, vale,  
Te, te citabit totum;  
Te conscium, te socium  
Dolorum et gaudiorum!  
Æqualis nos expectat sors—  
Bonorum vel malorum.

---

## LXI. DE DIE JUDICII.

CUM revolve toto corde  
In quâ mundus manet sorde,  
Totus mundus cordi sordet,  
Et cor totum se remordet.

Cùm revolve purâ mente, 5  
Cadit mundus quàm repente,  
Ne mens cadat cum cadente,  
Mundum fugit mens attentè.

Cùm revolve mente sanâ,  
Quàm sit stulta spes humana, 10  
A spe mentem ad spem verto,  
Et spem mundi spe subverto.

Cùm revolve mundi laudem,  
Et mundanæ laudis fraudem,  
Laus et fraus in cordis ore 15  
Idem sonant uno more.

Cùm revolve mundi florem,  
Et quem habet flos dolorem,

---

LXI. Edélestand du Ménil, *Poés. Popul. Latines*, 1847, p 114.  
—These are some of the concluding stanzas of a poem, an earlier portion of which is given p. 210.

Tantus dolor est in flore,  
Ut non sit flos in dolore. 20

Cùm revolve moriturus,  
Quid post mortem sim futurus,  
Terret me terror futurus,  
Quem exspecto non securus.

Terret me dies terroris, 25  
Iræ dies et furoris,  
Dies luctûs et mœroris,  
Dies ultrix peccatoris.

Expavesco miser multùm  
Judicis severi vultum, 30  
Cui latebit nil occultum,  
Et manebit nil inultum.

Et quis, quæso, non timebit,  
Quando Judex apparebit,  
Ante quem ignis ardebit, 35  
Peccatores qui delebit?

Judicabit omnes gentes,  
Et salvabit innocentes;  
Arguet verò potentes,  
Et deliciis fruentes. 40

Tunc et omnes delicati  
Valedicent voluptati,  
Et vacantes vanitati  
Evanescent condemnati.

Appropinquat enim dies, 45  
In quâ justis erit quies,  
Quâ cessabunt persequentes,  
Et regnabunt patientes;

Dies illa, dies vitæ,  
Dies lucis inauditæ, 50  
Quâ nox omnis destruetur,  
Et mors ipsa morietur!

Ecce Rex desideratus,  
Et à justis expectatus,  
Jam festinat exoratus, 55  
Ad salvandum præparatus.

Oh! quàm pium et quàm gratum,  
Quàm suäve, quàm beatum  
Erit tunc Jesum videre,  
His qui eum dilexere. 60

Oh! quàm dulce, quàm jucundum  
Erit tunc odisse mundum,  
Et quàm triste, quàm amarum  
Habuisse mundum carum!

Oh! beati tunc lugentes, 65  
Et pro Christo patientes,  
Quibus sæculi pressura  
Regna dat semper mansura.

Ibi jam non erit metus,  
Neque luctus, neque fletus, 70

Non egestas, non senectus,  
Nullus denique defectus.

Ibi pax erit perennis,  
Et lætitia solennis,  
Flos et decus juventutis,  
Et perfectio salutis.

Nemo potest cogitare  
Quantum erit exultare,  
Tunc in cœlis habitare,  
Et cum angelis regnare.

Ad hoc regnum me vocare,  
Juste Judex, tu dignare,  
Quem exspecto, quem requiro,  
Ad quem anxius suspiro.

---

## LXII. DE DIE JUDICII.

APPAREBIT repentina dies magna Domini,  
 Fur obscurâ velut nocte improvisos occupans.  
 Brevis totus tunc parebit prisci luxus sæculi,  
 Totum simul cum clarebit præterisse sæculum.

LXII. Thomasius, *Hymnarium, Opp.*, v. 2, p. 433; Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 126; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 194.—This hymn, as will at once be observed, is alphabetic—the distiches beginning with the successive letters of the alphabet. Latin hymns which have submitted themselves to this restraint are not very numerous; and, judging from one point of view, there is something artificial in an arrangement, which, while it is a restraint and difficulty, confers few compensating benefits, and, when all is done, is rather for the eye than for the ear. In the sacred Hebrew poetry from which they are derived, they belong to a later period, and not to the first and more unconscious burst, of inspired song. The chief examples in the kind are the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and some Psalms probably among the latest in the whole collection. The Latin hymn before us is certainly as old as, if not a good deal older than, the seventh century; for Bede, who belongs to the end of this and the beginning of the eighth, alludes to it in his work *De Metris*. It was then almost or altogether lost sight of, till Cassander published it for the first time in his *Hymni Ecclesiastici*. Although it is too merely a working up of Scripture passages which relate to the last judgment in a narrative form, and wants the high lyrical feeling which gives to the *Dies Iræ* its peculiar charm, yet it is of a very noble simplicity; and Daniel says of it well: *Juvat carmen ferè totum è Scripturâ sacrâ depromptum comparare cum celebratissimo illo extremi judicii præconio, Dies iræ, dies illa, quo majestate et terroribus, non sanctâ simplicitate et fide, superatur.*



Clangor tubæ per quaternas terræ plagas concinens, 5  
 Vivos unà mortuosque Christo ciet obviam.  
 De cœlesti Judex arce, majestate fulgidus,  
 Claris angelorum choris comitatus aderit.  
 Erubescet orbis lunæ, sol vel obscurabitur,  
 Stellæ cadent pallescentes, mundi tremet ambitus :  
 Flamma ignis anteibit justi vultum Judicis, 11  
 Cœlum, terras, et profundi fluctus ponti devorans.  
 Gloriosus in sublimi Rex sedebit solio,  
 Angelorum tremebunda circumstabunt agmina.  
 Hujus omnes ad electi colligentur dexteram, 15  
 Pravi pavent à sinistris, hædi velut fœtidi :  
 Ite, dicet Rex ad dextros, regnum cœli sumite,  
 Pater vobis quod paravit ante omne sæculum.  
 Karitate qui fraternâ mo juvistis pauperem,  
 Caritatis nunc mercedem reportate divites. 20  
 Læti dicent : Quando, Christe, pauperem te vidimus,  
 Te, Rex magne, vel egentem miserati juvimus ?  
 Magnus illis dicet Judex : Quum juvistis pauperem,  
 Panem, domum, vestem dantes, me juvistis humiles.  
 Nec tardabit et sinistris loqui justus arbiter : 25  
 In gehennæ, maledicti, flammæ hinc discedito :  
 Obsecrantem mo audire despexistis mendicem,  
 Nudo vestem non dedistis, neglexistis languidum.  
 Peccatores dicent : Christe, quando te vel pauperem,  
 Te, Rex magne, vel infirmum contemplantés spre-  
 vimus ? 30  
 Quibus contra Judex altus : Mendicanti quamdiu  
 Opem ferro despexistis, me sprevisis improbi.

---

12. *devorans*] So Cassander, Thomasius, and Rambach.  
 Daniel has *decorans*, but probably as a misprint.

Retro ruent tum injusti ignes in perpetuos,  
 Vermis quorum non morietur, flamma nec restin-  
 guitur;  
 Satan atro cum ministris quo tenetur carcere, 35  
 Fletus ubi mugitusque, strident omnes dentibus.  
 Tunc fideles ad cœlestem sustollentur patriam,  
 Choros inter angelorum regni petent gaudia:  
 Urbis summæ Hierusalem introibunt gloriam,  
 Vera lucis atque pacis in quâ fulget visio, 40  
 Xristum Regem, jam paternâ claritate splendidum,  
 Ubi celsa beatorum contemplantur agmina.  
 Ydri fraudes ergo cave, infirmantes subleva,  
 Aurum temne, fuge luxus, si vis astra petere:  
 Zonâ clarâ castitatis lumbos nunc accingere, 45  
 In occursum magni Regis fer ardentem lampadas.

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43. *Ydri*] for *Hydri*. The Latin language possessing origi-  
 nally no *y*, and every Greek word beginning with *υ* which had  
 been naturalized in the language, being necessarily aspirated, it  
 was only by such an irregularity as this that the alphabetic  
 arrangement of the poem could have been preserved throughout.  
*Hydrus* = ὕδρος, a *sea-serpent*; but here the ὄφεις ἀρχαῖος of Gen.  
 iii.; Rev. xii. 9.

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## THOMAS OF CELANO.

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THOMAS, named of Celano, from a small town near the lake Fucino in the further Abruzzo, and so called to distinguish him from another of the same name and order, was a friend and scholar of St Francis of Assisi—one indeed of the earliest members of the new order of Minorites, which in 1208 was founded by him. He appears to have lived in near familiarity with his master, and, from the great matters in which he was trusted by him, to have enjoyed his highest confidence. After the death of St Francis, which took place in 1226, he was the first who composed a brief account of his life, which he afterwards greatly enlarged, and which even now is the most authentic record of his life which we possess. The year of his own death is not known. His connexion with the founder of that influential order might have just preserved his name from utter forgetfulness; but it is the *Dies Ira* which has given him a much wider fame—an hymn of such rare merit, that one can learn only with a deep regret, that two other hymns were composed by the same author, which have now perished, or, if they still exist, lie hidden somewhere, altogether out of sight of men. It is Wadding, the Irish Franciscan, the learned and laborious historiographer of his order, (b. 1580, d. 1657,) who makes mention of them: *Sequentiam illam olim celebrem quæ nunc ex-cidit: Sanctitatis nova signa, cecinit frater Thomas de Celano, cujus et illa solemniss mortuorum: Dies ira, dies illa, opus est.* And again: [Scripsit] sequentias tres, quarum

prima incipit: *Fregit victor virtualis*. Secunda: *Sanctitatis nova signa*. Tertia: *Dies iræ, dies illa*. It is true, our sense of their loss is in part diminished by the extreme probability which the first line of at least one of the hymns, in connexion with the known circumstances of the writer's life, suggests, that these two were not, like the *Dies Iræ*, poems of a world-wide interest, but the glorifyings rather of his great patron and friend.

It is with no absolute certainty that the authorship of this grand hymn which follows, is ascribed to Thomas of Celano. Seeming to lie, as it has done, like a waif and stray, and yet at the same time so precious a one, it is not very wonderful that claims have been put in on behalf of many. Yet several of the names which have been proposed, are at once and evidently impossible. Thus we are quite sure that Gregory the Great could not have been the author; seeing that rhyme, although not unknown or unused in his day, was very far from having reached the perfection which in this poem it displays—add to which, that the poem would then have remained unknown for the first six hundred years of its existence. Again, St Bernard of Clairvaux has been sometimes named as the author. But not to say that the poem is of an austerer character, and of a more masculine texture, than any of those, beautiful as in their kind they are, which rightly belong to him, he also lived at too early a day. The hymn was not known till the thirteenth century; while he died in the middle of the twelfth, and enjoyed too high a reputation in life and after death to have rendered it possible that such a composition of his could have remained concealed for a hundred years. It would be long, and alien to the purposes of this volume, to consider all the names which have been suggested, or to give more than the

results of the enquiry. The question has been thoroughly discussed by Mohnike, *Hymnologische Forschungen*, v. 1, pp. 1—24. He and others who have gone the fullest into the matter, are agreed that the preponderance of evidence is very much in favour of the friend and follower of St Francis, a notice of whose life I have in consequence given. Knowing as we do the bitter rivalry which reigned between the two mendicant orders, it something confirms the view that the hymn is the work of a Franciscan, that the Dominican Sixtus Senensis should speak slightly of it, terming it, as he does, an uncouth poem (*rhythmus inconditus*;) this he would scarcely have done, had there not been that in the authorship of the poem, which caused him to look at it with a jaundiced eye.

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### LXIII. DE NOVISSIMO JUDICIO.

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**D**IES iræ, dies illa  
Solvat sæclum in favillâ,

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LXIII. Mohnike, *Hymnol. Forschungen*, p. 33, 39, 45; Lisco, *Dies Iræ, Hymnus auf das Weltgericht*, Berlin, 1840; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 103.—Of all the Latin hymns of the Church this is the best known; for as Daniel has truly remarked: *Etiam illi quibus Latini Ecclesiæ hymni prorsus ignoti sunt, hunc certè norunt, et si qui inveniuntur ab humanitate tam alieni ut carminum sacrorum suavitatem nihil omnino sentiant, ad hunc certè hymnum, cujus quot sunt verba tot tonitrua, animum adver-*

## Teste David cum Sibyllâ.

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tunt. Its introduction in Faust may have helped to bring it to the knowledge of some who would not otherwise have known it; or if they had, would not have believed its worth, but that the sage and seer of this world had thus stood sponsor to it, and set his seal of recognition upon it. The sublime use which Göthe has made of it in that drama will be remembered by all. To another illustrious man this hymn was eminently dear. How affecting is that incident recorded of Sir Walter Scott by his biographer,—how in the last days of his life, when all of his great mind had failed or was failing, he was yet heard to murmur to himself some lines of this hymn, which had been an especial favourite with him in other days. Nor is it hard to understand or explain the wide and general popularity which it has enjoyed. The metre so grandly devised, of which I remember no other example, fitted though it has here shewn itself for bringing out some of the noblest powers of the Latin language—the solemn effect of the triple rhyme, which has been likened to blow following blow of the hammer on the anvil—the confidence of the poet in the universal interest of his theme, a confidence which has made him set out his matter with so majestic and unadorned a plainness, as at once to be intelligible to all,—these merits, with many more, have combined to give the *Dies Iræ* a high place, indeed one of the highest, among the masterpieces of sacred song.

3. *cum Sibyllâ*] An unwillingness to allow a Sibyl to appear in a Christian hymn, and bearing witness to Christian truth, has occasioned another reading here, and we sometimes meet *Crucis expandens vexilla*, as the last line of this first triplet. It rests on Matt. xxiv. 30, and on the notion that the apparition of a cross in the sky would be “the sign of the Son of man in heaven” there spoken of. There is no doubt, however, that it is a late alteration of the text; and the line as it stands above, is quite in the spirit of the early and medieval theology. In those ages the Sibylline verses were not seen to be that transparent forgery which indeed they are; but were continually appealed to as standing only second to the sacred Scriptures in prophetic authority. Thus see the use of them which, on this very matter of the destruction of the world, Lactantius makes, *Inst. Div.*, l. 7, c. 16—24. Cf. Piper’s *Mythol. & Christl. Kunst*, p. 472—507. Nay, we may say that these Sibyl-



Quantus tremor est futurus,  
 Quando Judex est venturus,  
 Cuncta strictè discussurus.

5

line oracles, with other heathen testimonies of the same kind, were not so much subordinated to more legitimate prophecy, as co-ordinated with it. This and those were regarded as two parallel lines of prophecy, the Church's and the world's, bearing consenting witness to the same truths. Thus is it in a curious medieval Latin mystery, which M. Magnin has published in the *Journal des Savans*, 1846, p. 88. It is on the Nativity, and is of simplest construction. One after another, patriarchs and prophets and kings of the Old Covenant come forward and repeat their most remarkable word about Him that should come: but by their side come forward a series of heathen witnesses, Virgil, (*Eclog.* 4,) Nebuchadnezzar, (Dan. iii. 25,) and the Sibyl: and that it was the writer's intention to parallelize the two series, and to shew that Christ had the testimony both of these and those in his favour, is plain from some opening lines of the prologue:

O Judas, Verbum Dei  
 Qui negatis, hominem  
 Vestræ legis, testem Regis  
 Audite per ordinem.

Et vos, gentes, non credentes  
 Peperisse virginem,  
 Vestræ gentis documentis  
 Pellite caliginem.

And such, no doubt, was the meaning of the author here—"That there shall be such a day as this has the witness of inspiration, David,—and of mere natural religion, the Sibyl—the Jew and Gentile alike bear testimony to the truths which we Christians believe." To look at the matter from this point of view, puts it out of all doubt that in the first part of the line we ought to read *Teste David*, and not *Teste Petro*. It is true that 2 Pet. iii. 7—11 is a more obvious prophecy of the destruction of the world by fire; but there are passages enough in the Psalms, as Ps. xcvi. 13; xcvii. 3; xi. 6; to which the poet may allude; and the very obviousness of the passage in St Peter is alone sufficient to make the reading, which introduces his name, suspicious.

Tuba, mirum spargens sonum  
 Per sepulchra regionum,  
 Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors stupebit et natura, 10  
 Quum resurget creatura,  
 Judicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,  
 In quo totum continetur,  
 De quo mundus judicetur. 15

Judex ergo quum sedebit,  
 Quidquid latet, apparebit,  
 Nil inultum remanebit.

Quid sum miser tum dicturus,  
 Quem patronum rogaturus, 20  
 Quum vix justus sit securus?

Rex tremendæ majestatis,  
 Qui salvandos salvas gratis,  
 Salva me, fons pietatis:

Recordare, Jesu pie, 25  
 Quod sum causa tuæ viæ;  
 Ne me perdas illâ die!

Quærens me sedisti lassus,  
 Redemisti crucem passus :  
 Tantus labor non sit cassus. 30

---

23. *sedisti lassus*] Cf. John iv. 6.



Juste Judex ultionis,  
Donum fac remissionis  
Ante diem rationis.

Ingemisco tanquam reus,  
Culpâ rubet vultus meus:  
Supplici parce, Deus!

35

Qui Mariam absolvisti,  
Et latronem exaudisti,  
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Preces meæ non sunt dignæ,  
Sed tu bonus fac benignè  
Ne perenni cremer igne!

40

Inter oves locum præsta,  
Et ab hædis me sequestra,  
Statuens in parte dextrâ.

45

Confutatis maledictis,  
Flammis acribus addictis,  
Voca me cum benedictis.

---

37. *Mariam*] This line assumes that, in favour of which are many probabilities, but no absolute proof, namely, that the woman who was a sinner, (Luke vii. 37,) was no other than Mary Magdalene. Their identity, on the authority of Gregory the Great, who had so decided the question, was taken for granted during all the middle ages, as indeed it is to a great extent in our common language now.

Oro supplex et acclinis,  
Cor contritum quasi cinis : 50  
Gere curam mei finis.

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51. It is not wonderful that a poem such as this should have continually allured, and continually defied, translators. We have several versions in English, beginning with a very noble one by Crashaw, in his *Steps to the Temple*, London, 1648, p. 105; it is in quatrains, and rather a reproduction than a translation; and including one by Walter Scott. In German they are yet more numerous, and there also include highest names, such as Herder, Fichte, and Augustus Schlegel. I have a volume before me by Lisco, exclusively dedicated to these. It was published in 1840, and contains forty-three versions. And in an *Appendix*, which followed three years after, seventeen more are given, which either had before escaped the editor's notice, or had been published since the publication of his book. Among these, it is true, there is one French and one Romaic; but all the rest are German.

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## LXIV. DE CRUCE DOMINI.

CRUX ave benedicta!  
 Per te mors est devicta,  
 In te pependit Deus,  
 Rex et Salvator meus.

LXIV. [Walraff,] *Corolla Hymnorum*, p. 23; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 2, p. 349.—This little poem, so perfect in its kind, might fitly have had its place among the earlier hymns upon the Passion, pp. 113—133, and may strike some as out of due order here. But the sublime and awful judgement-hymns which have just gone before, seem to want one of this nature—one which should set forth Him, in whom and through whose cross alone there shall be no condemnation there—as a transitional hymn to those which presently follow, and of which the theme is everlasting life. I may be excused perhaps for setting beside these lines, some of Calderon's, of no inferior grace, and on the same theme :

Arbol, donde el cielo quiso  
 Dar el fruto verdadero  
 Contra el bocado primero,  
 Flor del nuevo paraiso,  
 Arco de luz, cuyo aviso  
 En piélago mas profundo  
 La paz publicó del mundo,  
 Planta hermosa, fértil vid,  
 Harpa del nuevo David,  
 Tabla del Moises segundo;  
 Pecador soy, tus favores  
 Pido por justicia yo;  
 Pues Dios en tí padeció,  
 Solo por los pecadores.

Which lines may thus be translated :

Tree, which heaven has willed to dower  
 With that true fruit whence we live,  
 As that other, death did give;  
 Of new Eden loveliest flower;  
 Bow of light, that in worst hour

Tu arborum regina,  
Salutis medicina,  
Pressorum es levamen,  
Et tristium solamen. 5

O sacrosanctum lignum,  
Tu vitæ nostræ signum,  
Tulisti fructum Jesum,  
Humani cordis esum. 10

Dum crucis inimicos  
Vocabis, et amicos,  
O Jesu, Fili Dei,  
Sis, oro, memor mei. 15

---

Of the worst flood signal true  
O'er the world of mercy threw;  
Fair plant, yielding sweetest wine;  
Of our David harp divine;  
Of our Moses tables new;  
Sinner am I, therefore I  
Claim unto thy mercies make,  
Since alone for sinners sake  
God on thee endured to die.

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## PRUDENTIUS.

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### LXV. IN EXEQUIIS DEFUNCTORUM.

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JAM mœsta quiesce querela,  
Lacrimas suspendite, matres,  
Nullus sua pignora plangat,  
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est.

Sic semina sieca virescunt,  
Jam mortua jamque sepulta,  
Quæ reddita cæspite ab imo  
Veteres meditantur aristas.

Nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum,  
Gremioque hunc concipe molli:  
Hominis tibi membra sequestro,  
Generosa et fragmina credo.

---

LXV. *Prudentii Opp.*, ed. Obbarius, 1845, p. 41.—These lines, the crowning glory of the poetry of Prudentius, form only a part (the concluding part) of his tenth Cathemerinôn. But it has long been the custom to contemplate them apart from their context, and as an independent poem. This continued till a late day as the favourite funeral-hymn in the Evangelical Church in Germany, being used either in the original, or in the fine old translation, *Hört auf mit Trauern und Klagen*.

Animæ fuit hæc domus olim,  
Factoris ab ore creatæ,  
Fervens habitavit in istis 15  
Sapientia principe Christo.

Tu depositum tege corpus,  
Non immemor ille requiret  
Sua munera fictor et auctor,  
Propriique ænigmata vultûs. 20

Veniant modò tempora justa,  
Cùm spem Deus impleat omnem,  
Reddas patefacta necesse est,  
Qualem tibi trado figuram.

Non, si cariosa vetustas 25  
Dissolverit ossa favillis,  
Fueritque cinisculus arens  
Minimi mensura pugilli :

Nec, si vaga flamina et auræ,  
Vacuum per inane volantes, 30  
Tulerint cum pulvere nervos,  
Hominem periisse licebit.

Sed dum resolubile corpus  
Revocas, Deus, atque reformas,  
Quânam regione jubebis 35  
Animam requiescere puram ?

---

17—32. We may compare with these stanzas the latter chapters of Tertullian's treatise, *De Resurr. Carnis*.

Gremio senis addita sancti  
 Recubabit, ut est Eleazar,  
 Quem floribus undique septum  
 Dives procul aspicit ardens.

40

Sequimur tua dicta, Redemptor,  
 Quibus atrâ morte triumphans,  
 Tua per vestigia mandas  
 Socium crucis ire latronem.

Patet ecce fidelibus ampli  
 Via lucida jam Paradisi,  
 Licet et nemus illud adire,  
 Homini quod ademerat anguis.

45

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa  
 Violis et fronde frequente,  
 Titulumque et frigida saxa  
 Liquido spargemus odore.

50

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38. *Eleazar*] The question, whether the scriptural names, Lazarus and Eleazar, are only forms of the same, has been often debated; and it is now generally agreed that they are. Tertullian calls once the Lazarus of Scripture (Luke xvi.) Eleazar, in the same manner as Prudentius does here.

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## MARBOD.

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### LXVI. DE RESURRECTIONE MORTUORUM.

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CREDERE quid dubitem fieri quod posse probatur,  
Cujus et ipse typum naturæ munere gesto?  
Quâque die somno, ceu mortis imagine pressus,  
Rursus et evigilans veluti de morte resurgo;  
Ipsa mihi sine voce loquens natura susurrat: 5  
Post somnum vigilas, post mortis tempora vives.  
Clamat idem mundus, naturaque provida rerum,  
Quas Deus humanis sic condidit usibus aptas,  
Ut possint homini quædam signare futura.  
Mutat luna vices, defunctaque lumine rursum 10  
Nascitur, augmentum per menstrua tempora sumens;  
Sol quoque, per noctem quasi sub tellure sepultus,  
Surgens mane novus reditum de morte figurat:  
Signat idem gyros agitando volubile cœlum,

---

LXVI. *Hildeberti et Marbodi Opp.*, p. 1615.—These lines are worth quoting, were it only as an evidence of the very respectable mastery of the classical hexameter, which was possessed in the eleventh and twelfth century. The arguments for a resurrection drawn from the analogies of the natural world had of course continually been handled before, by none perhaps so memorably as by Tertullian, *De Resurr. Carnis*, c. 12, in whose footsteps Marbod here very closely treads. Compare for the same line of argument the *Panegyricus* of Paulinus of Nola.



Aëra distinguens tenebris et luce sequente. 15  
Ipsa parens tellus quæ corpora nostra receptat,  
Servat in arboribus vitæ mortisque figuram,  
Et similem formam redivivis servat in herbis.  
Nudatos foliis brumali tempore ramos,  
Et velut arentes mortis sub imagine truncos 20  
In propriam speciem frondosa resuscitat æstas;  
Quæque peremit hyems nova gramina vere resurgunt,  
Ut suus incipiat labor arridere colonis.  
Nos quoque spes eadem manet et reparatio vitæ,  
Quâ revirescat idem, sed non resolubile corpus. 25  
An mihi subjectis data sit renovatio rebus,  
Totus et hanc speciem referens mihi serviat orbis,  
Me solum interea premat irreparabile damnum?  
Et quid erit causæ modico cur tempore vivens,  
Optima pars mundi, vitæque Datoris imago, 30  
Post modicum percam, sublatâ spe redeundi,  
At pro me factus duret per sæcula mundus?  
Nonne putas dignum magis inferiora perire  
Irreparabiliter, quàm quæ potiora probantur?  
Sed tamen illa manent, ergo magis ista manebunt. 35

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## BERNARD OF CLUGNY.

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**B**ERNARD, a monk of Clugny, born at Morlaix, flourished in the twelfth century, the cotemporary and fellow-countryman of his own more illustrious namesake of Clairvaux.

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### LXVII. LAUS PATRIÆ CŒLESTIS.

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**H**IC breve vivitur, hic breve plangitur, hic breve fletur:

Non breve vivere, non breve plangere retribuetur;

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LXVII. Flacius Illyricus, *Poëmm. de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, p. 247.—Bernard, in an interesting preface, dedicates the poem *De Contemptu Mundi*, of which these lines form a part, to Peter the Venerable, General of the Order to which he belonged. The poem, which contains nearly three thousand lines, was first published by Flacius Illyricus, in his curious, and now rather scarce, collection of poems referred to above, which was intended by him as a verse pendant and complement to his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, or, Catalogue of Witnesses against the Papacy which were to be found in all ages. Although now utterly forgotten, this poem has been several times reprinted. Mohnike (*Hymnol. Forschungen*, v. 1, p. 458) knows of and indicates four editions, to which I could add a fifth. Nor is this altogether strange, for no one who has a sense for the true passion of poetry, even when it manifests itself in forms the least to his liking, will deny the breath of a real inspiration to the author of these dactylic

O retributio ! stat brevis actio, vita perennis ;  
 O retributio ! cœlica mansio stat lue plenis ;  
 Quid datur et quibus ? æther egentibus et cruce dig-  
 nis, 5

Sidera vermibus, optima sontibus, astra malignis.  
 Sunt modò prœlia, postmodò præmia ; qualia ? plena,  
 Plena refectio, nullaque passio, nullaque pœna.  
 Spe modò vivitur, et Syon angitur à Babylone ;  
 Nunc tribulatio ; tunc recreatio, sceptræ, coronæ ; 10  
 Tunc nova gloria pectora sobria clarificabit,  
 Solvet enigmata, veraque sabbata continuabit.  
 Liber et hostibus, et dominantibus ibit Hebræus ;  
 Liber habebitur et celebrabitur hinc jubikæus.  
 Patria luminis, inscia turbinis, inscia litis, 15  
 Cive replebitur, amplificabitur Israëlitis :  
 Patria splendida, terraque florida, libera spinis,  
 Danda fidelibus est ibi civibus, hic peregrinis.

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hexameters. It is true that uniting, as they do, the leonine and tailed rhyme, with every line broken up of necessity into exactly three equal parts, they present as unattractive a garb for poetry to wear, as can well be imagined—and this, to say nothing of the absurdly difficult laws which the poet has imposed upon himself. He, it is true, in that dedicatory epistle, glories in the difficulties of the metre he has chosen, which he acknowledges to be so great, that he is convinced nothing but an especial grace and inspiration could have enabled him to bring his work to an end. Besides the awkwardness and repulsiveness of the metre, which indeed is felt much more strongly at first than after a little use, the chief defect in the poem, one which appears even in my quotation from it, although there mitigated by some prudent omissions, is its want of progress; the poet, instead of advancing, eddies round and round his subject, recurring again and again to that which he seemed to have thoroughly treated and dismissed. But even with this serious drawback, high merits will remain to it still.

Tunc erit omnibus insipientibus ora Tonantis  
 Summa potentia, plena scientia, pax pia sanctis; 20  
 Pax sine crimine, pax sine turbine, pax sine rixâ,  
 Meta laboribus, atque tumultibus anchora fixa.  
 Pars mea Rex meus, in proprio Deus ipse decore  
 Visus amabitur, atque videbitur Auctor in ore.  
 Tunc Jacob Israël, et Lia tunc Rachel efficietur, 25  
 Tunc Syon atria pulcraque patria perficietur.

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25. *Tunc Jacob Israël*] The earthly man shall pass into the heavenly, as Jacob became Israel, and in sign of the new nature received the new name. According to Augustine (*Serm.* 122,) Israel = Videns Deum, which gives an additional fitness to these words.—*et Lia tunc Rachel*] It has been observed already (p. 205) that Leah and Rachel represent, respectively, the active and the contemplative Christian life. Leah becoming Rachel is the swallowing up of the laborious active in the more delightful contemplative, in that vision of God wherein all blessedness is included. Cf. Augustine, *Con. Faust.*, l. 22, c. 52—54; and Hugh of St Victor (*Miscell.*, l. 1, tit. 79): Duæ sorores duas vitas significant. Lia, quæ interpretatur laboriosa, significat vitam activam, quæ est fœcunda in fructu boni operis, sed parum videt in luce contemplationis. Rachel, quæ interpretatur visum principium, designat vitam contemplativam, quæ est sterilis foris in opere, sed perspicax in contemplatione. In his duabus vitis quasi quædam contentio est animæ sanctæ alternatim nitentis ad amplexum Sponsi sui, id est, Christi, sapientiæ videlicet Dei. Contendunt ergo contemplatio et actio pro amplexu sapientiæ. Qui in contemplatione est, suspirat pro sterilitate operis; qui in opere est, suspirat pro jubilo contemplationis. There is a sublime passage with which Augustine concludes his Commentary upon St John, in which he makes the two apostles, Peter and John, in like manner to represent these two lives. It begins thus: Duas itaque vitas sibi divinitus prædicatas et commendatas novit Ecclesia, quarum est una in fide, una in specie; una in tempore peregrinationis, altera in æternitate mansionis; una in labore, altera in requie; una in viâ, altera in patriâ; una in opere actionis, altera in mercede contemplationis.

O bona patria, lumina sobria te speculantur,  
Ad tua nomina lumina sobria collacrymantur:  
Est tua mentio pectoris unctio, cura doloris,  
Concipientibus æthera mentibus ignis amoris. 30  
Tu locus unicus, illeque cœlicus es paradisus,  
Non ibi lacryma, sed placidissima gaudia, risus.  
Est ibi consita laurus, et insita cedrus hysopo;  
Sunt radiantia jaspide mœnia, clara pyropo:  
Hinc tibi sardius, inde topazius, hinc amethystus; 35  
Est tua fabrica concio coelica, gemmaque Christus.  
Tu sine littore, tu sine tempore, fons, modò rivus,  
Dulce bonis sapis, estque tibi lapis undique vivus.  
Est tibi laurea, dos datur aurea, Sponsa decora,  
Primaque Principis oscula suscipis, inspicis ora: 40  
Candida lilia, viva monilia sunt tibi, Sponsa,  
Agnus adest tibi, Sponsus adest tibi, lux speciosa:  
Tota negocia, cantica dulcia dulce tonare,  
Tam mala debita, quàm bona præbita conjubilare.

Urbs Syon aurea, patria lactea, cive decora, 45  
Omne cor obruis, omnibus obstruis et cor et ora.  
Nescio, nescio, quæ jubilatio, lux tibi qualis,  
Quàm socialia gaudia, gloria quàm specialis:  
Laude studens ea tollere, mens mea victa fatiscit:  
O bona gloria, vincor; in omnia laus tua vicit. 50  
Sunt Syon atria conjubilantia, martyre plena,  
Cive micantia, Principe stantia, luce serena:  
Est ibi pascua, mitibus afflua, præstita sanctis,  
Regis ibi thronus, agminis et sonus est epulantis.  
Gens duce splendida, concio candida vestibus albis 55  
Sunt sine fletibus in Syon ædibus, ædibus almis;  
Sunt sine crimine, sunt sine turbine, sunt sine lite  
In Syon ædibus editioribus Israëlitæ.

Urbs Syon inclyta, gloria debita glorificandis,  
 Tu bona visibus interioribus intima pandis : 60  
 Intima lumina, mentis acumina te speculantur,  
 Pectora flammæ spe modò, postea sorte lucrantur.  
 Urbs Syon unica, mansio mystica, condita cœlo,  
 Nunc tibi gaudeo, nunc mihi lugeo, tristor, anhelo :  
 Te quia corpore non queo, pectore sæpe penetro, 65  
 Sed caro terrea, terraque carnea, mox cado retro.  
 Nemo retexere, nemoque promere sustinet ore,  
 Quo tua mœnia, quo capitalia plena decore ;  
 Opprimit omne cor ille tuus decor, o Syon, o pax,  
 Urbs sine tempore, nulla potest fore laus tibi mendax ; 70  
 O sine luxibus, o sine luctibus, o sine lite  
 Splendida curia, florida patria, patria vitæ !

Urbs Syon inclyta, turris et edita littore tuto,  
 Te peto, te colo, te flagro, te volo, canto, saluto ;

59—72. Let me, for comparison and contrast, quote a few lines from Casimir, the great Latin poet of Poland. They turn upon the same theme, the heavenly home-sickness ; but with all their classical beauty, and it is great, who does not feel that the poor Clugnian monk's is the more real and deeper utterance,—that, despite the strange form which he has chosen, he is the greater poet ?

Urit me patriæ decor,  
 Urit conspicuis pervigil ignibus  
 Stellati tholus ætheris,  
 Et lunæ tenerum lumen, et aureis  
 Fixæ lampades atriis.  
 O noctis choreas, et teretem sequi  
 Juratæ thiasum faces !  
 O pulcher patriæ vultus, et ignei  
 Dulces excubiæ poli !  
 Cur me stelliferi luminis hospitem,  
 Cur heu ! cur nimium diu  
 (cœlo sepositum cernitis exulem ?

The Spanish scholar will remember and compare the noble ode of Luis de Leon's, entitled Noche Serena.

Nec meritis peto, nam meritis meto morte perire, 75  
Nec reticens tego, quod meritis ego filius iræ :  
Vita quidem mea, vita nimis rea, mortua vita,  
Quippe reatibus exitiis obruta, trita.  
Spe tamen ambulo, præmia postulo speque fideque,  
Illa perennia postulo præmia nocte dieque. 80  
Me Pater optimus atque piissimus ille creavit ;  
In lucē pertulit, ex lucē sustulit, à lucē lavit.  
Gratia cœlica sustinet unica totius orbis  
Percipere sordibus, interioribus unctio morbis ;  
Diluit omnia cœlica gratia, fons David undans 85  
Omnia diluit, omnibus affluit, omnia mundans :  
O pia gratia, celsa palatia cernere præsta,  
Ut videam bona, festaque consona, cœlica festa.  
O mea, spes mea, tu Syon aurea, clarior auro,  
Agmine splendida, stans duce, florida perpete lauro,  
O bona patria, num tua gaudia teque videbo? 91  
O bona patria, num tua præmia plena tenebo?  
Dic mihi, flagito, verbaque reddito, dicque, Videbis :  
Spem solidam gero; remne tenens ero? dic, Retinebis.  
O sacer, o pius, o ter et amplius ille beatus, 95  
Cui sua pars Deus: o miser, o reus, hâc viduatus.

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## LXVIII. IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIAE.

---

URBS beata Hirusalem,  
 Dicta pacis visio,  
 Quæ construitur in cœlis,  
 Vivis ex lapidibus,

---

LXVIII. Clichtoveus, *Elucidat. Eccles.*, p. 46; Thomasius, *Hymnarium, Opp.*, v. 2, p. 378; Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 179; Mohnike, *Hymnol. Forschungen*, v. 2, p. 187.—This rugged but fine old hymn, of which the author is not known, is probably of date as early as the eighth or ninth century: such is Mohnike's conclusion. I have alluded already, in the introduction to this volume, p. 15, to the manner in which these grand old compositions were recast in the Romish Church, at the revival of learning, which was, in Italy at least, to so great an extent a revival of Paganism. This is one of the few which has not utterly perished in the process, in which some beauty has survived the transformation. And yet if we compare the first two rugged and somewhat uncouth stanzas, which yet withal are so sweet, with the smooth iambs which in the Roman breviary have taken their place, we shall feel that, if not all, yet a great part of their beauty has disappeared. They are read there in the following form:

Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem,  
 Beata pacis visio,  
 Quæ celsa de viventibus  
 Saxis ad astra tolleris,  
 Sponsæque ritu cingeris  
 Mille angelorum millibus:

O sorte nupta prosperâ,  
 Dotata Patris gloriâ,  
 Respersa Sponsi gratiâ,  
 Regina formosissima,  
 Christo jugata Principi,  
 Cœlo coruscas civitas.

A little further on, we are amidst the heathen associations of



Et ab angelis ornata,  
Ut sponsata comite:

5

Nova veniens e cœlo,  
Nuptiali thalamo  
Præparata, ut sponsata  
Copuletur Domino;  
Plateæ et muri ejus  
Ex auro purissimo.

10

Portæ nitent margaritis,  
Adytis patentibus;  
Et virtute meritorum  
Illuc introducitur

15

---

Olympus. But the most illustrious example of what I mean, is yielded by a comparison of the grand old Paschal hymn, (how old, it is impossible to say,) *Ad cœnam Agni providi*, with the same as burnished and brightened up in the Roman breviary. Let us take, for instance, this stanza on Christ the true Paschal Lamb, in the old :

Cujus corpus sanctissimum,  
In arâ crucis torridum,  
Cruore ejus roseo  
Gustando, vivimus Deo;

and its equivalent in the new :

Divina ejus caritas  
Sacrum propinat sanguinem,  
Almique membra corporis  
Amor sacerdos immolat.

The lines satisfy indeed, now, the claims of metre,—though they have lost their rhyme; but all the sharpness and distinctness of the Paschal allusions has wholly vanished, and vague generalities take their place; not to say that there is a nameless charm diffused over those lines, which is altogether absent from these. Daniel (*Thes. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 88) gives the old and the new in parallel columns.

Omnis qui ob Christi nomen  
Hoc in mundo premitur.

Tusionibus, pressuris  
Expoliti lapides 20  
Suis coaptantur locis  
Per manum artificis;  
Disponuntur permansuri  
Sacris ædificiis.

Angulare fundamentum 25  
Lapis Christus missus est,  
Qui compage parietum  
In utroque nectitur,  
Quem Syon sancta suscepit,  
In quo credens permanet. 30

Omnis illa Deo sacra  
Et dilecta civitas,  
Plena modulis et laude  
Et canoro jubilo,  
Trinum Deum unicumque 35  
Cum favore prædicat.

---

29. *Syon*] It is not an accident that the poet uses *Syon* here where he is speaking of the Church militant, and *Hirusalem*, ver. 1, where he was addressing the Church triumphant. Durandus (*Rational.*, l. 1, c. 1), gives the explanation of the distinction: Dicitur enim præsens Ecclesia Syon, eò quod ab hâc peregrinatione longè posita promissionem rerum cœlestium speculatur; et ideo Syon, id est, *speculatio*, nomen accepit. Pro futurâ verò patriâ et pace, Hierusalem vocatur: nam Hierusalem *pacis visio* interpretatur.

Hoc in templo, summe Deus,  
 Exoratus adveni,  
 Et clementi bonitate  
 Precum vota suscipe,  
 Largam benedictionem  
 Hic infunde jugiter.

40

Hic promereantur omnes  
 Petita acquirere,

37—48. These two last stanzas of this hymn, Daniel, (v. 1, p. 240), conceives not to have belonged to it, as first composed; that it was simply a yearning after the heavenly city, with no relation to the dedication of a material temple, and that these were added, when, at a later period, it was turned to this use: *Hæc supernæ civitatis laudatio, ut mihi videtur, ex poetæ consilio nihil spectabat ad Festum Dedicationis, neque ultra verum decimum octavum genuinam esse puto. Quæ sequuntur v. 19—24, illo tempore adjecti sunt, quo nostrum canticum in Ecclesiæ usum convertebatur.* But this is certainly a mistake. The hymn coheres intimately in all its parts, and to turn it away from its purpose of being a hymn *In Dedicatione Ecclesiæ*, is to rob it of its chiefest beauty. It is most truly a hymn “of degrees,” an ascending from things earthly to things heavenly, and a making of the first to be interpreters of the last. Durandus (*Rational.*, l. 1, c. 1, §. 7—10, and elsewhere,) shews how the prevailing thought in the building and the dedication of a church, with the rites thereto appertaining was to carry up men’s thoughts from that temple built with hands, which was before their eyes, to that other built of living stones in heaven, of which this was but a weak shadow. Compare two beautiful sermons by Hildebert, p. 641, 648, Beaugendre’s edit. A sequence which Daniel himself gives, (v. 2, p. 23,) should have hindered him from falling into this error. It, too, is entitled *In Dedicatione Ecclesiæ*, and thus commences :

Psallat Ecclesia, mater illibata et virgo  
 Sine rugâ, honorem hujus ecclesiæ;  
 Hæc domus aulæ cœlestis probatur particeps,  
 In laude Regis cœlorum et ceremoniis,  
 Et lumine continuo æmulans civitatem sine tenebris.

Et adepta possidere 45  
 Cum sanctis perenniter,  
 Paradisum introire,  
 Translati in requiem.

---

48. This poem testifies for its own true inspiration, in the fact that it has proved the source of manifold inspiration in circles beyond its own. The rich hymnology of Protestant Germany possesses certainly two, it may be more, noble hymns, which evidently had their first motive here; however the matter is wrought up and the subject handled with a freedom which leaves them original compositions, notwithstanding. The older of these is Meyfart's (1590—1642,) Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt, (no. 495, in Bunsen's *Gesangbuch*,) a lovely hymn, yet perhaps inferior to that of Kosegarten (1753—1818.) From this, which I do not find in Bunsen's collection, these glorious stanzas may be quoted; the comparison between the old poet and the new must needs be instructive:

Stadt Gottes, deren diamantnen Ring  
 Kein Feind zu stürmen wagt:  
 Drin kein Tyrann haust, drin kein Herrscherling  
 Die freien Bürger plagt;  
 Recht nur und Licht und Wahrheit  
 Stützt deines Königs Thron,  
 Und Klarheit über Klarheit  
 Umglänzt den Königssohn.

Stadt, deren Gassen sind durchlauchtig Gold,  
 Die Mauern Marmelstein;  
 Der Glanzstrom, der durch deine Strassen rollt,  
 Wälzt Wellen silberrein.  
 Krystallne Fluthen baden  
 Der Königsgärten Saum,  
 Und längs den Lustgestaden  
 Schattet der Lebensbaum.

Dir scheint, o Stadt, der Sonne Antlitz nicht,  
 Und nicht ihr bleiches Bild;  
 Es leuchtet dir ein himmlisch Angesicht,  
 Das wunderbarlich und mild.  
 Gott Selbst ist deine Sonne,  
 Dein leuchtend Licht das Lamm,  
 Das—all' Heilkraft Bronne—  
 Gebüsst am Marterstamm.

## DAMIANI.

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### LXIX. DE GLORIA ET GAUDIIS PARADISI.

---

**A**D perennis vitæ fontem mens sitivit avida,  
Claustra carnis præstò frangi clausa quærit anima;  
Gliscit, ambit, eluctatur, exul frui patriâ.

Dum pressuris ac ærumnis se gemit obnoxiam,  
Quam amisit, dum deliquit, contemplatur gloriam; 5  
Præsens malum auget boni perditionem.

Nam quis promat summæ pacis quanta sit lætitia,  
Ubi vivis margaritis surgunt ædificia,  
Auro celsa micant tecta, radiant triclinia?

---

LXIX. *Augustini Opp.*, Bened. ed., v. 6, p. 117 (*Appendix*); Rambach, *Anthol. Christl. Gesänge*, p. 241; Daniel, *Theol. Hymnol.*, v. 1, p. 116.—This poem has been often, but erroneously, attributed to Augustine; evidently on the ground that it finds place in the *Meditationes*, which were long ascribed to that Father. These *Meditationes*, however, are plainly a cento from Anselm, Gregory the Great, and many others besides Augustine; from whom they are rightly adjudged away by the Benedictine editors, as indeed they had already been in earlier editions. The hymn is undoubtedly Damiani's, and quite the first and greatest which he has left us.

Solis gemmis pretiosis hæc structura nectitur, 10  
 Auro mundo tanquam vitro urbis via sternitur;  
 Abest limus, deest finus, lues nulla cernitur.

Hiems horrens, æstas torrens illic nunquam sæviunt;  
 Flos perpetuus rosarum ver agit perpetuum,  
 Candent lilia, rubescit crocus, sudat balsamum. 15

11. *Auro mundo*] For the mystical meaning attributed to the "pure gold as it were transparent glass" of the heavenly city, (Rev. xxi. 21,) I must quote a passage, though long, of Gregory the Great (*Moral.*, 18): Appellatione auri in sacro eloquio aliquando splendor supernæ civitatis accipitur. Aurum namque, ex quo civitas illa constat, simile vitro dicitur, ut per aurum clara, et per vitrum perspicua, designetur. Auri quippe metallum novimus potiori metallis omnibus claritate fulgere, vitri verò natura est, ut extrinsecus visu pura, intrinsecus perspicuitate perluceat. In alio metallo quicquid intrinsecus continetur, absconditur: in vitro verò quilibet liquor qualis continetur interiùs, talis exteriùs demonstratur, et, ut ita dixerim, omnis liquor in vitreo vasculo clausus patet. Quid igitur aliud in auro vel vitro accipimus, nisi illam beatorum civium societatem, quorum corda sibi invicem et claritate fulgent, et puritate translucent? Quia enim omnes sancti in æternâ beatitudine summâ claritate fulgebunt, instructa auro dicitur. Et quoniam ipsa eorum claritas sibi invicem in alternis cordibus patet, et cùm uniuscujusque vultus ostenditur, simul et conscientia penetratur, hoc ipsum aurum simile vitro mundo esse memoratur. Cf. ver. 38, 39 of this hymn.

12. *lues*] According to the connexion in which *lues* is here used, it must have that meaning which once in Petronius it has, (*Sat.*, 123,) namely, of the snow in act of melting, and now stained and fouled by its contact with the impurities of the earth. As nothing is cleaner than the new fallen snow, so nothing uncleaner, more *defiling*, than the snow in this process of dissolution. And here is the band of connexion between this meaning of *lues* and the more usual; for, as Döderlein says truly, tracing the different modifications of the meaning of this word (*Synonyme*, v. 2, p. 58): Die Begriffe von Unreinigkeit und Krankheit liegen ziemlich nahe neben einander.

Virent prata, vernant sata, rivi mellis influunt ;  
 Pigmentorum spirat odor, liquor et aromatum :  
 Pendent poma floridorum non lapsura nemorum.

Non alternat luna vices, sol, vel cursus siderum ;  
 Agnus est felicis urbis lumen inocciduum, 20  
 Nox et tempus desunt ei, diem fert continuum.

Nam et sancti quique velut sol præclarus rutilant,  
 Post triumphum coronati mutuè conjubillant,  
 Et prostrati pugnas hostis jam securi numerant.

Omni labe defæcati carnis bella nesciunt, 25  
 Caro facta spiritalis et mens unum sentiunt,  
 Pace multâ perfruentes scandalum non perferunt.

Mutabilibus exuti repetunt originem,  
 Et præsentem veritatis contemplantur speciem,  
 Hinc vitalem vivi fontis hauriunt dulcedinem. 30

Inde statum semper idem existendi capiunt,  
 Clari, vividi, jucundi, nullis patent casibus :  
 Absunt morbi semper sanis, senectus juvenibus.

Hinc perenne tenent esse, nam transire transiit ;  
 Inde virent, vigent, florent ; corruptela corrui, 35  
 Immortalitatis vigor mortis jus absorbit.

---

19—21. Augusti (*Beiträge zur Christl. Kunst-Geschichte*, v. 1, p. 72, sq.) has an interesting essay on the *artistic* character of the Apocalypse, adducing this poem with others as examples of the large use which has been made of it by the chief Latin hymnologists.

22. *velut sol*] Cf. Matt. xiii. 43.



Qui scientem cuncta sciunt, quid nescire nequeunt:  
 Nam et pectoris arcana penetrant alterutrum,  
 Unum volunt, unum nolunt, unitas est mentium.

Licet cuiquam sit diversum pro labore meritum, 40  
 Caritas hoc facit suum quod amat in altero:  
 Proprium sic singulorum fit commune omnium.

Ubi corpus, illic jure congregantur aquilæ,  
 Quo cum angelis et sanctæ recreantur animæ;  
 Uno pane vivunt cives utriusque patriæ. 45

Avidi et semper pleni, quod habent desiderant,  
 Non satietas fastidit, neque fames cruciat:  
 Inhiantes semper edunt, et edentes inhiant.

---

43. *Ubi corpus*] It is evident from the connexion in which these words, (borrowed from Matt. xxiv. 28,) appear, that the meaning which Damiani finds in them, is this: "Where Christ is, there his saints and servants will be gathered to him, by the same sure and unerring instinct which gathers the eagles to their prey;" and this was, I believe, the almost universal explanation of the passage in the early Church. Whether it be the right one, and whether the words do not rather mean, "Wherever there is a Church or nation abandoned by the spirit of life, and which has become a dead carcase, to this the eagles, the ministers and messengers of the divine judgements, are quickly gathered together, to remove it out of the way"—were an interesting question, yet one which cannot here find place.

46—48. *Avidi...pleni*] Hildebert (*Serm.* 25) expresses himself nearly in the same way concerning the angels. Of Christ he says, *Ipse est enim in quem angeli desiderant prospicere* [1 Pet. i. 12]. *Prospiciunt quidem in eum, et cum desiderio, quia quæ habent desiderant, et quæ desiderant habent. Si enim desiderarent, et illud non obtinerent, esset in desiderio anxietas, et ita pœna. Si*



Novas semper melodias vox meloda concrepat,  
 Et in jubilum prolata mulcent aures organa, 50  
 Digna per quem sunt victores, Regi dant præconia.

Felix cœli quæ præsentem Regem cernit anima,  
 Et sub sede spectat altâ orbis volvi machinam,  
 Solem, lunam, et globosa cum planetis sidera.

Christe, palma bellatorum, hoc in municipium 55  
 Introduc me post solutum militare cingulum,  
 Fac consortem donativi beatorum civium :

Præbe vires inexhausto laboranti prælio,  
 Nec quietem post procinctum deneges emerito,  
 Teque merear potiri sine fine præmio. 60

autem haberent et non cuperent, videretur fastidium sequi satietatem. Ne autem sit in desiderio anxietas, vel in satietate fastidium, desiderantes satiantur, et satiati desiderant.

60. These lines of Adam of St Victor have much sweetness in them, and may fitly be appended here; they form part of a poem which it will not need to adduce at full. (Clichtoveus, p. 223.)

Confusa sunt hic omnia,  
 Spes, metus, mæror, gaudium;  
 Vix hora vel dimidia  
 Fit in cœlo silentium.

Quàm felix illa civitas,  
 In quâ jugis solennitas,  
 Et quàm jucunda curia,  
 Quæ curæ prorsus nesciat

Nec languor hic, nec senium,  
 Nec fraus, nec terror hostium,  
 Sed una vox letantium,  
 Et unus ardor cordium.

Mitantur nec deficiunt  
 In illum, quem prospeciunt;  
 Fruuntur nec fastidiunt  
 Quo frui magis aliunt.

The following passage from Hugh of St Victor (*De Claustr. Animæ*, c. 36) will make intelligible the third and fourth lines of the quotation: De hoc secreto cordis dictum est: Factum est silentium in cœlo quasi media hora. Cœlum quippe est anima justi....Sed quia hoc silentium contemplationis et hæc quies mentis in hâc vitâ non potest esse perfecta, nequaquam hora integra factum in cœlo dicitur silentium, sed quasi media; ut nec media plenè sentiatur, cùm præmittitur quasi: quia mox ut se animus sublevare cœperit, et quietis intimæ lumine perfundi, redeunte motu cogitationum confunditur et confusus cæcatur.

Nor are these lines of Alanus without merit:

Hic risus sine tristitiâ, sine nube serenum,  
Deliciæ sine defectu, sine fine voluptas,  
Pax expers odii, requies ignara laboris,  
Lux semper rutilans, sol veri luminis, ortus  
Nescius occasus, gratum sine vespere mane:  
Hic splendor noctem, saties fastidia nescit,  
Gaudia plena vigent, nullo respersa dolore.  
Non hic ambiguo graditur Fortuna meatu,  
Non risum lacrymis, adversis prospera, læta  
Tristibus infirmat, non mel corrumpit aceto,  
Aspera commiscens blandis, tenebrosa serenis,  
Connectens luci tenebras, funesta jocosis:  
Sed requies tranquilla manet, quam fine carentem  
Fortunæ casus in nubila vertere nescit.

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## THOMAS OF KEMPEN.

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THOMAS Hamerken, of Kempen or Kampen in Over-Yssel, to whom generally, and, I believe, with justice the *Imitation of Christ* is attributed, was born in 1380, and died in 1471. His works, apart from that disputed one, are numerous. Among them are various ascetic and devotional treatises, which have the same kind of merit, though in an inferior degree, which has caused the *Imitation of Christ* to be, next to the Bible, the most widely diffused and oftenest reprinted book in the world. They include also a not unimportant life of Gerhard, the founder of the *Fratres communis Vitæ*, to which Order, if such it may be called, Thomas himself belonged. His poems are not many, nor would they yield a second extract at all to be compared in beauty with the very beautiful lines which follow.

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### LXX. CANTICUM DE GAUDIIS CŒLESTIBUS.

---

A STANT angelorum chori,  
A Laudes cantant Creatori;  
Regem cernunt in decore,  
Clamant corde, laudant ore,

---

Tympanizant, citharizant, 5  
Volant alis, stant in scalis,  
Sonant nolis, fulgent stolis  
Coram summâ Trinitate.  
Clamant: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus ;  
Fugit dolor, cessat planctus 10  
In supernâ civitate.  
Concors vox est omnium,  
Deum collaudantium ;  
Fervet amor mentium,  
Clarè contuentium 15  
Beatam Trinitatem in unâ Deitate ;  
Quam adorant Seraphim  
Ferventi in amore,  
Venerantur Cherubim  
Ingenti sub honore ; 20  
Mirantur nimis Throni de tantâ majestate.

O quàm præclara regio,  
Et quàm decora legio  
Ex angelis et hominibus !  
O gloriosa civitas, 25  
In quâ summa tranquillitas,  
Lux et pax in cunctis finibus !  
Cives hujus civitatis  
Veste nitent castitatis,  
Legem tenent caritatis, 30  
Firmum pactum unitatis.  
Non laborant, nil ignorant ;  
Non tentantur, nec vexantur :  
Semper sani, semper læti,  
Cunctis bonis sunt repleti. 35

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## HILDEBERT.

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### LXXI. ORATIO DEVOTISSIMA AD TRES PERSONAS SS. TRINITATIS.

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§ AD PATREM.

**A**LPHA et  $\Omega$ , magne Deus,  
Heli, Heli, Deus meus,  
Cujus virtus totum posse,  
Cujus sensus totum nosse,

---

LXXI. *Hildeberti et Marbodi Opp*, p. 1337; *Hommey, Supplementum Patrum*, p. 446.—It gives me pleasure that the natural arrangement of this volume has enabled me to reserve to the last a poem which will supply to it so grand a close—a poem which, so soon as it has escaped the straits and embarrassments of doctrinal definition,—although even there it has a most real value, from the writer's theological accuracy and distinctness, and his complete possession of his theme,—gradually rises in poetical feeling, until towards the end it equals the very best productions which Latin Christian poetry anywhere can boast. And this, its excellence, makes not a little strange that almost entire oblivion, even among lovers of the Latin hymnology, into which this hymn has fallen. Hugh of St Victor indeed, a cotemporary of Hildebert's, quotes six lines of it with a well-deserved admiration, though without seeming to intimate that he was acquainted with the author. His words are (*Serm.* 83): *Qualis autem sit exultatio sanctorum in cœlesti gloriâ, et lætitia in cubilibus istis, exultationes quoque in gutture eorum, illorum solummodò est cognos*

Cujus esse summum bonum,  
Cujus opus quicquid bonum;

---

5

cere, quibus datum est et habere. Unde *quidam* rhythmico carmine supernam affatus Hierusalem, pulchrè dixit :

Quantùm tui gratulentur,  
Quàm festivè conviventur,  
Quis affectus eos stringat,  
Aut quæ gemma muros pingat,  
Chalcedon an hyacinthus,  
Norunt illi qui sunt intus.

It is true that there was no collected edition of the works of Hildebert until the Benedictine, edited by Beaugendre, Paris, 1708. But Usher, in an appendix to his work *De Symbolis*, (*Works*, v. 7, p. 335, Elrington's edition,) had already printed these lines, not knowing however the name of their author; (ex veteribus membranis rhythmos istos elegantes descripsimus.) They were also subsequently printed by Hommey in his *Supplementum Patrum*, as noted above, but with a text far inferior to Usher's; indeed, so inaccurate as to be often well-nigh unintelligible. He seems to believe that he was the first to make them known. Guericke, in his excellent *Christl. Archæologie*, Leipsic, 1847, p. 258, quotes a considerable part of this "magnificent" hymn with a just recognition. Rambach also (*Christl. Anthologie*, v. 1, p. 260) gives a fragment of it, but with so little sense of its, or its author's, merits, that he so does, as he says, "that he may give something of this author's." The only translation of any part of it which I know, is one in Mr Neale's *Hierologus*; it embraces only the concluding lines, and scarcely reproduces the beauty of the original.

1. Ω] This is sometimes printed *Omega*, but the metre plainly requires that it should appear as it does above: unless indeed we should resolve the Ω into the Oo, of which it was originally compounded, and as which it might be here pronounced, and then print the line thus: A et Oo, magne Deus: it needs not to say what a favourite symbol of Him who is the first and the last (Alpha et Ω cognominatus, *ipse fons et clausula*: Prudentius) the monogram A—Ω or α/ω supplied to the early Christians, or

Super cuncta, subter cuncta ;	
Extra cuncta, intra cuncta ;	
Intra cuncta, nec inclusus ;	
Extra cuncta, nec exclusus ;	10
Super cuncta, nec elatus ;	
Subter cuncta, nec substratus ;	
Super totus, præsidendo ;	
Subter totus, sustinendo ;	
Extra totus, complectendo ;	15
Intra totus es, implendo ;	
Intra, nunquam coarctaris,	
Extra, nunquam dilataris ;	
Super, nullo sustentaris ;	
Subter, nullo fatigaris.	20
Mundum movens, non moveris,	
Locum tenens, non teneris,	
Tempus mutans, non mutaris,	
Vaga firmans, non vagaris.	
Vis externa, vel necesse	25
Non alternat tuum esse :	
Hæc nostrum, cras, et pridem	
Semper tibi nunc et idem :	
Tuum, Deus, hodiernum,	
Indivisum, sempiternum :	30
In hoc totum prævidisti,	
Totum simul perfecisti,	
Ad exemplar summæ mentis	
Formam præstans elementis.	

---

how often it is found on lamps, gravestones, gems, and other relics which they have bequeathed us.

## § ORATIO AD FILIUM.

Nate, Patri coæqualis,	35
Patri consubstantialis,	
Patris splendor et figura,	
Factor factus creatura,	
Carnem nostram induisti,	
Causam nostram suscepisti :	40
Sempiternus, temporalis ;	
Moriturus, immortalis ;	
Verus homo, verus Deus ;	
Impermixtus Homo-Deus.	
Non conversus hic in carnem ;	45
Nec minutus propter carnem :	
Hic assumptus est in Deum,	
Nec consumptus propter Deum ;	
Patri compar Deitate,	
Minor carnis veritate :	50
Deus pater tantùm Dei,	
Virgo mater, sed est Dei :	

---

37. *splendor et figura*] These are the words which the Vulgate uses as its Latin equivalents for ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ, Heb. i. 3 ; so that it is plain that it is to that setting forth of the dignity of the Son, in the opening of the Hebrews, Hildebert refers. The word ἀπαύγασμα might either mean *effulgence* or *refulgence* ; and *splendor* does not necessarily determine for one meaning or the other. The Church, however, has ever preferred the first meaning, and has made ἀπαύγασμα = φῶς ἐκ φωτός, and so, no doubt, is the *splendor* intended by the poet here. Thus we have in another hymn : Splendor Paternæ gloriæ, (a fuller translation of the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης,) Qui lumen es e lumine.



In tam novâ ligaturâ  
Sic utraque stat natura,  
Ut conservet quicquid erat, 55  
Facta quiddam quod non erat.  
Noster iste Mediator,  
Iste noster legislator,  
Circumcisis, baptizatus,  
Crucifixus, tumultus, 60  
Obdormivit et descendit,  
Resurrexit et ascendit:  
Sic ad cœlos elevatus  
Judicabit judicatus.

§ ORATIO AD SPIRITUM SANCTUM.

Paraclitus increatus, 65  
Neque factus, neque natus,  
Patri consors, Genitoque,  
Sic procedit ab utroque  
Ne sit minor potestate,  
Vel discretus qualitate. 70  
Quanti illi, tantus iste,  
Quales illi, talis iste.  
Ex quo illi, ex tunc iste;  
Quantùm illi, tantùm iste.  
Pater alter, sed gignendo; 75  
Natus alter, sed nascendo;  
Flamen ab his procedendo;  
Tres sunt unum subsistendo.  
Quisque trium plenus Deus,  
Non tres tamen Dî, sed Deus. 80

In hoc Deo, Deo vero,  
Tres et unum assevero,  
Dans Usiæ unitatem,  
Et personis Trinitatem.  
In personis nulla prior, 85  
Nulla minor, nulla major:  
Unaquæque semper ipsa,  
Sic est constans atque fixa,  
Ut nec in se varietur,  
Nec in ullâ transmutetur. 90

Hæc est fides orthodoxa,  
Non hic error sine noxâ;  
Sicut dico, sic et credo,  
Nec in pravam partem cedo.  
Inde venit, bone Deus, 95  
Ne desperem quamvis reus:  
Reus mortis non despero,  
Sed in morte vitam quæro.  
Quo te placem nil prætendo,  
Nisi fidem quam defendo: 100  
Fidem vides, hanc imploro;  
Leva fascem quo laboro;

---

101—137. The four images of deliverance which run through these lines, will be best understood in their details, by keeping closely in view the incidents of the evangelical history on which they rest, and which lend them severally their language and imagery. In ver. 101—112 the allusion is to Christ's raising of the dead, and mainly to that of Lazarus. The *Extra portam jam delatus* belongs indeed to the history of the widow's son, (Luke vii. 12;) but all else is to be explained from John xi. 39—44.

Per hoc sacrum cataplasma  
 Convalescat ægrum plasma.  
 Extra portam jam delatum, 105  
 Jam foetentem, tumultatum,  
 Vitta ligat, lapis urget;  
 Sed si jubes, hic resurget;  
 Jube, lapis revolvetur,  
 Jube, vitta dirumpetur: 110  
 Exiturus nescit moras,  
 Postquam clamas: Exi foras.  
 In hoc salo mea ratis  
 Infestatur à piratis;

The second image seems, in a measure, to depart from the miracles of the stilling of the storm, (Matt. viii. 26; cf. xiv. 32,) and to introduce a new feature in the *piratæ*; but on closer inspection it will be seen that in the "*pirates*" we have only a bold personification of the winds and waves, as *hi piratæ* of ver. 119 plainly proves. In the third (ver. 121—128) he contemplates himself as the barren fig-tree of Luke xiii. 6—9, and as such, in danger of being hewn down. The fourth image (ver. 129—138) rests plainly on the healing of the lunatic child, and especially on the account of it given by St Mark, having traits which belong exclusively to that account, as the *Aquis mersat, flammis urit*; (Mark ix. 22.) The words *Tibi soli sum relictus* refer to the failure of the apostles; "I spake to thy disciples that they should cast him out, and they could not." It is as though he would say, "Man's help is vain; thou must heal me, or none."

103. *cataplasma*] Bernard: Ex Deo et homine factum est cataplasma, quod sanaret omnes infirmitates nostras, Spiritu Sancto tanquam pistillo hasce species suaviter in utero Mariæ commiscente.

113—120. *In hoc salo*] The following spirited stanzas form part of rather a long hymn, which does not appear in the earlier editions of Clichtoveus, but is found in that of Paris, 1556, p. 222.

Hinc assultus, inde fluctus, 115  
 Hinc et inde mors et luctus;  
 Sed tu, bone Nauta, veni,  
 Preme ventos, mare leni;  
 Fac abscedant hi piratæ,  
 Duc ad portum salvâ rate. 120  
 Infecunda mea ficus,  
 Cujus ramus ramus siccus,  
 Incidetur, incendetur,  
 Si promulgas quod meretur;

The hymn probably belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century. It cannot indeed be later, as Hugh of St Victor, who died in 1141, quotes these stanzas, *Opp.*, v. 2, p. 484. He adduces them as the work of an *egregius versificator*, but does not mention his name.

Sævit mare, fremunt venti,  
 Fluctus surgunt turbulenti,  
 Navis currit, sed currenti  
 Tot occurrunt obvia!  
 Hinc sirenæ voluptatis,  
 Draco, canes, cum piratis,  
 Mortem pœne desperatis  
 Hæc intentant omnia.

Post abyssos nunc ad cœlum  
 Furens unda fert phaselum;  
 Nutat malus, fluit velum,  
 Nautæ cessat opera.  
 Contabescit in his malis  
 Homo noster animalis:  
 Gubernator spiritalis,  
 Pereuntes libera.

Jesu, sacri ventris fructus,  
 Nobis inter mundi fluctus  
 Sis via, dux, et conductus  
 Liber ad cœlestia:  
 Tene clavum, rege navem;  
 Tu, procellam sedans gravem,  
 Portum nobis da suâvem  
 Pro tuâ potentiâ.

Sed hoc anno dimittatur,	125
Stercoretur, fodiatur;	
Quod si needum respondebit,	
Flens hoc loquor, tunc ardebit.	
Vetus hostis in me furit,	
Aquis mersat, flammis urit:	130
Inde languens et afflictus	
Tibi soli sum relictus.	
Ut infirmus convalescat,	
Ut hic hostis evanescat,	
Tu virtutem jejunandi	135
Des infirmo, des orandi:	
Per hæc duo, Christo teste,	
Liberabor ab hâc peste;	
Ab hâc peste solve mentem,	
Fac devotum, pœnitentem;	140
Da timorem, quo projecto,	
De salute nil conjecto;	
Da fidem, spem, caritatem;	
Da discretam pietatem;	
Da contemptum terrenorum,	145
Appetitum supernorum.	

---

141. *Da timorem*] This and the following line contain allusion to, and must be explained by, 1 John iv. 18: Perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem. He asks for the fear which is the *beginning* of wisdom, but this only as introducing the love, which at last, casting out the fear, shall give him confidence toward God and assurance of salvation. Thus Augustine (*In 1 Ep. Joh. iv. 18*): Sicut videmus per setam introduci linum, quando aliquid suitur, seta prius intrat, sed nisi exeat, non succedit linum: sic timor primò occupat mentem, non autem ibi remanet timor, quia ideò intravit, ut introduceret caritatem.

Totum, Deus, in te spero ;  
Deus, ex te totum quæro.  
Tu laus mea, meum bonum,  
Mea cuncta, tuum donum ; 150  
Tu solamen in labore,  
Medicamen in languore ;  
Tu in luctu mea lyra,  
Tu lenimen es in irâ ;  
Tu in arcto liberator, 155  
Tu in lapsu relevator ;  
Motum præstas in provectu,  
Spem conservas in defectu ;  
Si quis lædit, tu rependis ;  
Si minatur, tu defendis : 160  
Quod est anceps tu dissolvis,  
Quod tegendum tu involvis.  
Tu intrare me non sinas  
Infernales officinas ;  
Ubi mœror, ubi metus, 165  
Ubi fœtor, ubi fletus,  
Ubi probra deteguntur,  
Ubi rei confunduntur,  
Ubi tortor semper cædens,  
Ubi vermis semper edens ; 170  
Ubi totum hoc perenne,  
Quia perpes mors Gehennæ.

Me receptet Syon illa,  
Syon, David urbs tranquilla,  
Cujus faber Auctor lucis, 175  
Cujus portæ lignum crucis,

Cujus muri lapis vivus,  
Cujus custos Rex festivus :  
In hâc urbe lux solennis,  
Ver æternum, pax perennis : 180  
In hâc odor implens cœlos,  
In hâc semper festum melos ;  
Non est ibi corruptela,  
Non defectus, non querela ;  
Non minuti, non deformes, 185  
Omnes Christo sunt conformes.  
Urbs cœlestis, urbs beata,  
Super petram collocata,  
Urbs in portu satis tuto,  
De longinquo te saluto ; 190  
Te saluto, te suspiro,  
Te affecto, te requiro.  
Quantùm tui gratulantur,  
Quàm festivè convivantur,  
Quis affectus eos stringat, 195  
Aut quæ gemma muros pingat,  
Quis calcedon, quis jacinthus,  
Norunt illi qui sunt intus.  
In plateis hujus urbis,  
Sociatus piis turbis, 200  
Cum Moyse et Eliâ  
Pium cantem Alleluya.  
Amen.

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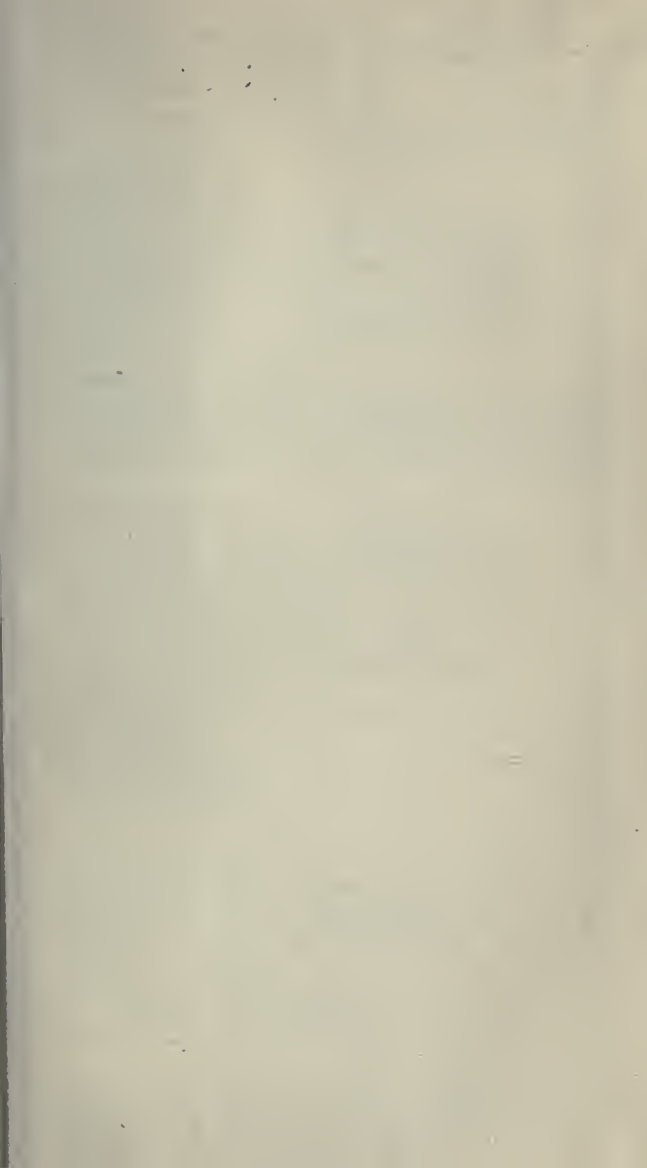
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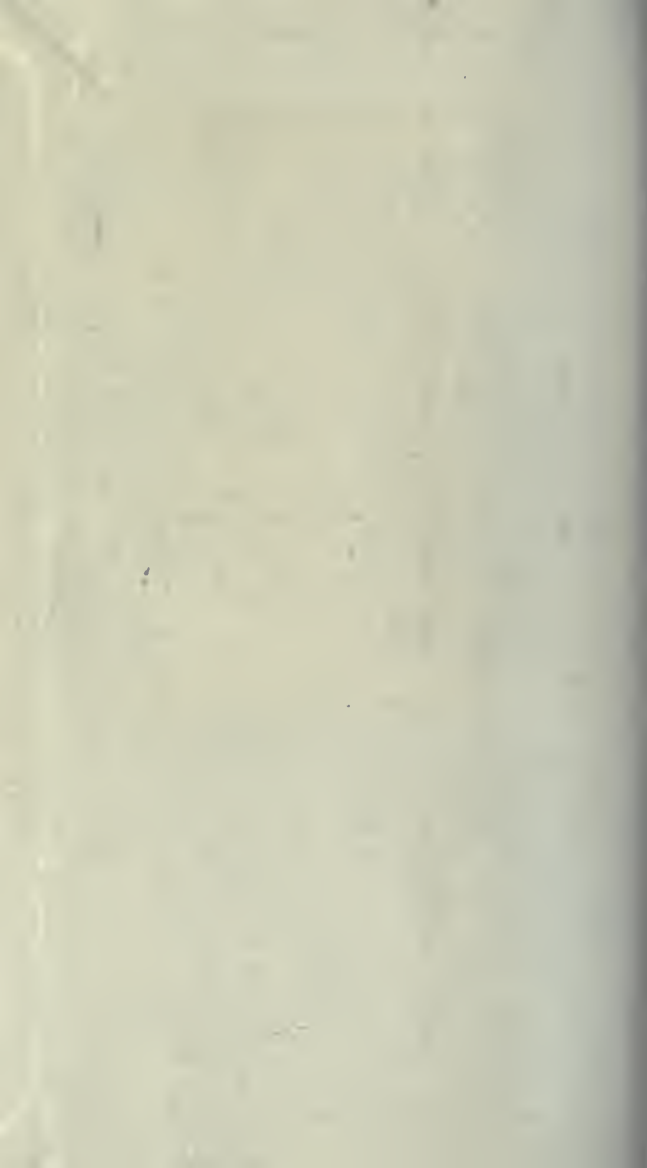
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